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January 2016 • Issue 64 • £4.50

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E H SHEPARD

An illustrator's war

HISTORY

MONTHLY



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- Military ballooning: the American Civil War
- Submarine sonar

THE WAR MACHINE

Jeremy Black on preparing for the great offensives, 1916

FIGHTING BARBARIANS

Emperor Julian at Strasbourg



WELLINGTON'S WORDS

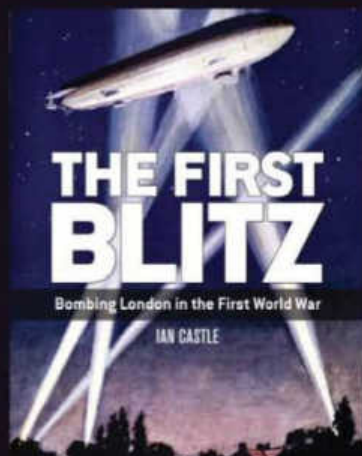
Beneath the mask of command

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REMEMBERING THE GREAT WAR 100 YEARS ON

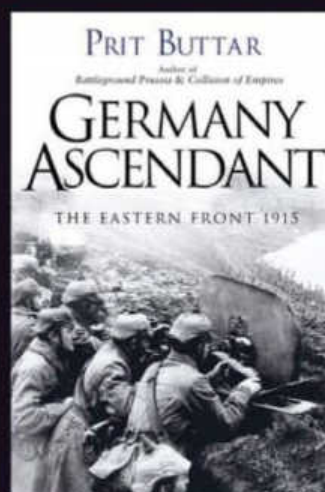
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THE FIRST BLITZ

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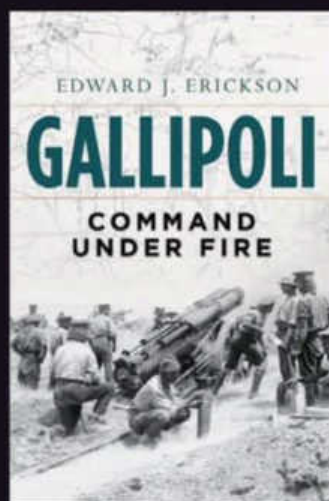
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GERMANY ASCENDANT

The Eastern Front 1915

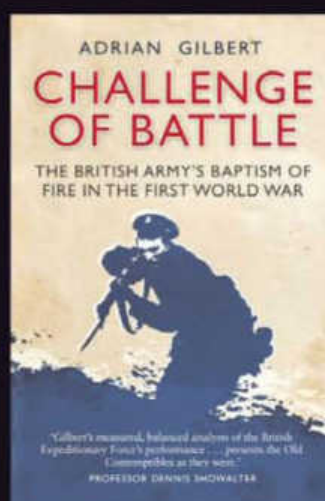
A fascinating account of the unknown side of the First World War on the Eastern Front, as Imperial Germany, Hapsburg-Austria and Tsarist Russia clashed in a series of battles unmatched in scale and ferocity in Western Europe.



GALLIPOLI

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Offering fresh insight into one of the greatest 'what ifs' of the war, this ground-breaking study focuses on the operational and campaign level decisions which drove the conduct of the campaign.

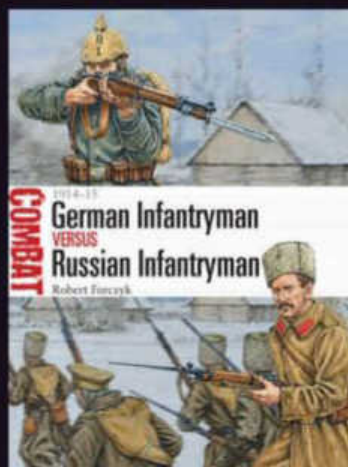
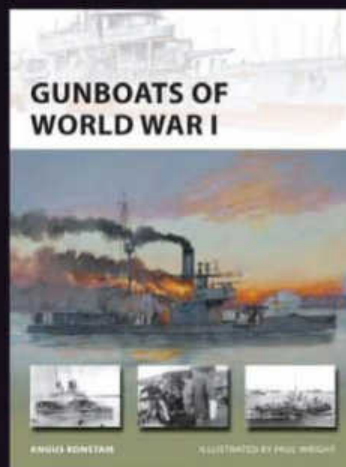
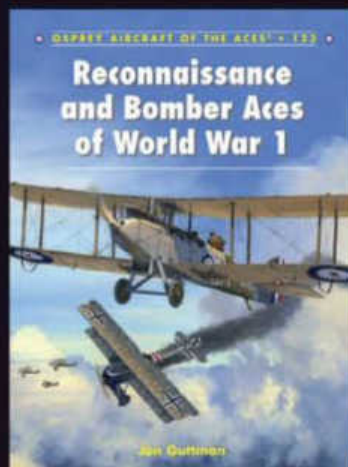


CHALLENGE OF BATTLE

The British Army's Baptism of Fire in the First World War

Drawing on diaries, letters and other contemporary accounts, Adrian Gilbert builds a compelling and unvarnished picture of the British Expeditionary Forces in the opening months of the First World War.

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WITH DR NEIL FAULKNER



ON THE COVER: First World War munitions factory workers at the National Shell Filling Factory in Chilwell, England.

Image: Alamy.

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After a spike of interest around the centenary of the outbreak, public interest in the First World War has been at fairly low ebb through 2015. This is likely to change next year, with the anniversaries of the Somme, Jutland, and Lawrence of Arabia.

So we lead this month with an analysis of the shift of gear in the winter of 1915/1916. The campaigns of movement in the late summer and early autumn of 1914 had quickly morphed into trench stalemate and attrition by the year's end. But the resources for sustaining this kind of war simply weren't available.

Offensives were too underpowered to have any chance of breaking through. Industry could not provide the guns and shells needed. The transition to 'total war' had not been made.

Welcoming Jeremy Black as a new contributor to *MHM*, we invited him to explore the transformation of war between 1915 and 1916 in preparation for the great offensives to come. His overview is supported by *MHM* regular David Porter's case-study of the planning and preparation for Verdun, the first of those offensives, launched in February 1916.

Also this issue, we have Marc DeSantis's account of the Roman Emperor Julian's great victory over the Germans at the Battle of Strasbourg in AD 357, Dave Sloggett's assessment of Hitler's V-2 rocket assault on Britain in the last year of WWII, and, again from David Porter, a look at the man behind the mask of the 'Iron Duke', using Wellington's own words.

Neil Faulkner

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and have your say



CONTRIBUTORS THIS MONTH'S EXPERTS



JEREMY BLACK

is Professor of History at the University of Exeter. He is the author of a number of books,

including *Rethinking Military History*, *Naval Power*, and *War and Technology*.



MARC DeSANTIS

is an historian and attorney who writes extensively on military historical subjects. He is the author of

Rome Seizes the Trident, which looks at naval warfare in the Punic Wars.



DAVID PORTER

worked at the MOD for 30 years and is the author of nine of Second World War books and numerous

magazine articles. He is a regular contributor to *MHM*.



DAVE SLOGGETT

is an independent academic and military historian. He has authored several books, including

Drone Warfare: the development of unmanned aerial conflict.

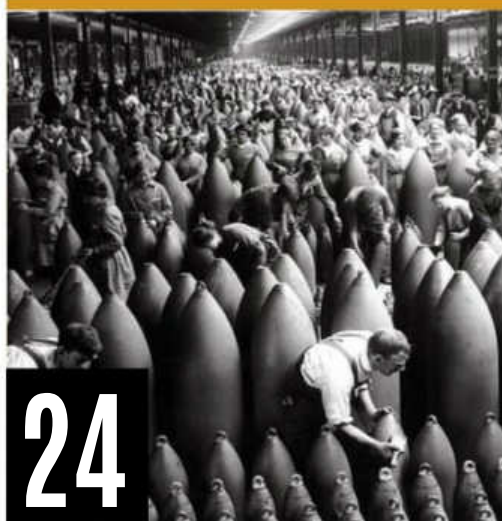
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CONTENTS

January 2016 | **ISSUE 64**



INCLUDES:
Background
Change of gear
New technology
Case-study: Verdun
Battle map



ON THE COVER

A New Intensity, 1915/1916

This month, *MHM* focuses on the second winter of the First World War. Jeremy Black analyses the transformation in the character of war that heralded the great offensives of the following year, while David Porter takes the planning of the Battle of Verdun as a case-study in the new intensity of the conflict.

UPFRONT

Welcome 3

Letters 7

Notes from the Frontline 8

Behind the Image 10

MHM looks at a photograph of the soldiers of the Union Army Balloon Corps inflating the balloon *Intrepid* in 1862.

Conflict Scientists 12

Patrick Boniface on Lewis Nixon's development of sonar technology.

War Culture 14

Neil Faulkner examines E H Shepard's First World War illustrations.



FEATURES

18 Wellington

In his own words

David Porter reveals the human being behind the Iron Duke's 'mask of command'.



42 Fortuna's darling

The Emperor Julian and the Battle of Strasbourg, AD 357

Marc DeSantis recalls the career of Julian the Apostate, and his victory against the Alemanni at the Battle of Strasbourg in AD 357.



52 Ballistic bombardment

How the V-2 terrorised Europe

Dave Sloggett reviews Hitler's V-2 campaign in light of later history.



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THE DEBRIEF



60

BACK AT BASE | MHM REVIEWS

War on Film | 60

Taylor Downing reviews British war film *Fires Were Started*.

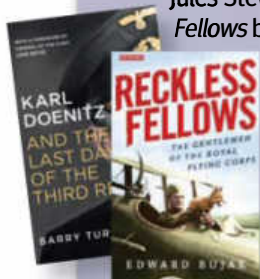
Book of the Month | 64

Neil Faulkner reviews *The Fall of the Ottomans: the Great War in the Middle East, 1914-1920* by Eugene Rogan.

Books | 66

Jules Stewart reviews *Reckless Fellows* by Edward Bujak; Francesca

Trowse reviews *Karl Doenitz and the Last Days of the Third Reich* by Barry Turner; and Guy Taylor reviews *Waterways on the Western Front*, edited by Celia Halsey.



70

IN THE FIELD | MHM VISITS

Museum | 70

George Clode travels to Guernsey to visit the German Occupation Museum.

Listings | 72

The best military history events.

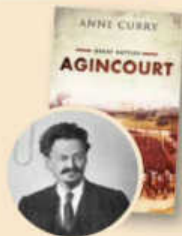
INTELLIGENCE | MHM OFF DUTY

Competition | 80

Two chances to win the *Great Battles* series.

Briefing Room | 82

All you need to know about Leon Trotsky.



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9 Nov 2015

We're looking for history's best military moustache. Whose 'tache do you think deserves the title? #Movember

@MilHistMonthly

13 Nov 2015

The Battle of Turnham Green was fought #OnThisDay in 1642, not too far from the MHM office...

Read up on it here:

<http://tinyurl.com/osrdfpl>

@MilHistMonthly

17 Nov 2015

Bernard Law Montgomery was born #OnThisDay in 1887. #Monty



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2 Nov 2015

Airing now on BBC One: the first episode of *The People Remember*, 'The War at Sea'.

5 Nov 2015

The Battle of Inkerman was fought during the Crimean War #OnThisDay in 1854. Visit our website to read about the armies involved.



11 Nov 2015

Today, at the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month, millions will fall silent to commemorate the 1918 Armistice signed between the Allies of World War I and Germany at Compiègne, France, and to remember all those who have lost their lives in war. #ArmisticeDay

MHM

LETTERS

Your thoughts on issues raised in *Military History Monthly*

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LETTER OF THE MONTH

READING AGINCOURT

Your otherwise excellent articles on Agincourt (MHM 61) were spoilt by a blunt attempt to use the battle to promote a certain view of social history.

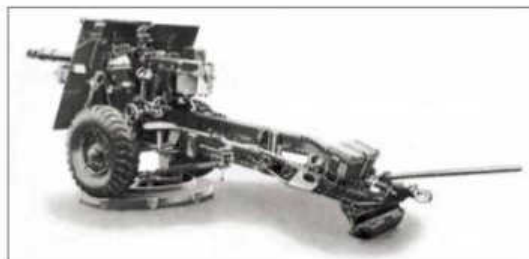
One article claims, for example, '[The yeomanry] were usually keen supporters of the Protestant Reformation and Dissolution; and Cromwell's Ironsides... were, to some degree, the heirs of Henry V's longbowmen.'

In fact, as acknowledged elsewhere in MHM, the yeomen of the middling sort were the direct descendants of the freemen of the Alfred's fyrd, half a millennium earlier. Far from supporting the Reformation and the Dissolution, many of them rose in the north and west of the country to defend the monasteries.

King Charles I, an incompetent (and even corrupt) monarch, could never have held his enemies at bay for so many years, with the might of London (the new merchant class and most of Parliament) against him, had the bulk of the yeomanry not supported him.

The victors of that war and the great Whig landowners of the subsequent Glorious Revolution squeezed out the yeoman class as extremes of wealth and poverty worsened. By the late 18th century, the Army had to recruit what the Iron Duke called 'the scum of the earth' instead.

Julian Brazier, MP



REMEMBERING MY FATHER

I was intrigued by your briefing note on the 25-pdr artillery piece (MHM 63) because my father, Edward, commanded one of those 834 guns you record as being deployed at El Alamein.

He remembered a night-time inferno of flashing colour and noise, as well as having no memory of letting off the entire magazine of his Sten gun in his excitement.

He began and ended the war as an army musician. Later, due to be in the invasion of Italy, he was offered Acting Command of the Royal Artillery Band, Cairo, 'which it took me all of half a second

to think about'. So, from the lines at El Alamein to the stage of the Cairo Opera House!

A fanfare trumpeter at the Royal Wedding of 1947, his last post (1963-1969) was to direct the Band of the Women's Royal Army Corps.

Chris Crowcroft

Ludlow

TANK GAFFE

'Oh no,' I hear you say, 'not again.' But, sadly, yes.

The picture at the bottom of p.12 of your October issue (MHM 61), supposedly of a Churchill Crocodile flamethrower tank, is actually an M3 Sherman fitted with a flame-thrower in place of the bow machine-gun.

I don't expect I'm the only one who spotted it!

Bob Britnell

Canterbury



Please note: letters may be edited for length; views expressed here are those of our readers, and do not necessarily reflect those of the magazine.

NOTES FROM THE FRONTLINE

Our round-up of this month's military history news

JENKINS' EAR SHIP DISCOVERY

An 18th-century ship, thought to have been scuttled during the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1748), has been discovered by a team of underwater archaeologists, off the coast of Cartagena, Colombia.



Early reports suggest that the vessel could be the wreck of the *San Felipe*, sunk by Spanish admiral Blas de Lezo during the Battle of Cartagena de Indias in 1741. The Spanish fought against British ships under Vice Admiral Edward Vernon.

Tensions had been building between the British and Spanish empires over their competing commercial interests in the Caribbean during the early 18th century. In 1731, merchant Captain Robert Jenkins had his ear cut off during a fight with a Spanish group that boarded his ship looking for contraband.

The incident, which did not attract much interest at the time, became a British symbol for the often-reported



ruthlessness of the Spanish enemy. Jenkins is said to have presented his severed ear to Parliament on 17 March 1738, drumming up support for naval intervention in the situation, and Britain declared war on Spain in 1739.

Vernon commanded around 150 ships and 12,000 men, but the conflict incurred heavy British losses, and the Battle of Cartagena de Indias was the site of a decisive Spanish victory.

Carlos del Cairo, head of Colombia's Fundación Terra Firme, which is leading the investigation, said it was one of the most important events in colonial history. Lezo's victory continues to be celebrated in Colombia to this day.

The British were shocked. Lezo had had only six ships. But he was a master of strategy, choosing to sink them at the entrances to Cartagena's harbour. Although they reached the beach in due course, the British soldiers were repelled by Lezo's forces and Cartagena's fortifications, and a large number of the men caught yellow fever.

Finds from the underwater excavation include exposed timber and fragments of ceramic, metal, glass, and ballast. Research will continue with more maritime projects in late 2015 and early 2016.

Photos: Project Bocachica, ICAANH

LEFT Blas de Lezo (1689-1741).

Mystery from Occupied Guernsey solved

An academic from the University of Cambridge has discovered the final resting place of a man deported from Occupied Guernsey after he had punched a Nazi soldier in 1942.



Image courtesy and copyright of Guernsey Archives

German troops occupied the Channel Islands, which were fortified as part of Hitler's Atlantic Wall, between June 1940 and May 1945.

After years of archival research into the lives of those Channel Islanders deported by the Nazis during the Second World War, Dr Gilly Carr travelled to Germany to visit the cemetery of St Michael in Straubing and to lay a plaque identifying the grave of Guernseyman Sidney Ashcroft.

Dr Carr said, 'Sidney Ashcroft was one of the "Guernsey Eight" – one of eight people who never returned from the prisons and camps to which they were deported during the German Occupation.'

Sidney, who was arrested in 1942, struck the soldier after being accused of stealing food from a German kitchen. Relatives claim the soldier had pushed Sidney's mother, Charlotte, who may have attempted to defend



Image: Gilly Carr

her son. Records state that he was arrested for 'serious theft and resistance to officials', and that he was sentenced to two years and nine months' hard labour.

He was taken to mainland Europe the day before his 21st birthday, where he was held in a number of Nazi prisons. He was last seen, emaciated, in Straubing prison, and died in the hospital

there from tuberculosis on 15 May 1945.

Sidney's story is one of many, and Dr Carr will continue to research the fates of deported islanders. She said, 'Over 200 people from the Channel Islands were deported to Nazi prisons and concentration camps for acts of resistance. This is a story which has never been told.'

Unearthing Wellington's Battle of Vimeiro

Recently discovered artefacts from the Battlefield of Vimeiro, north of Lisbon, Portugal, will help piece together the dynamics of Wellington's first great victory of the Peninsular War (1808-1814).

The battle was fought by Wellington's Anglo-Portuguese army of 18,700 against a 13,000-strong Napoleonic army, led by General Junot, on 21 August 1808.

Wellington's troops won the day, while the French sustained thousands of casualties and lost 13 guns.

The excavation uncovered buttons (pictured), musket balls, artillery shells, grapeshot, and personal objects from the battlefield, in accordance with contemporary written sources.

But of particular interest to historians is the discovery of a 'Shrapnel shell'. After the battle, William Robe, Commander of the Royal Artillery, wrote to Henry Shrapnel himself to commend his invention: 'it is admirable to the whole army and I should



not do my duty to the service were I not to attribute our good fortune to a good use of that weapon with which you have furnished us.'

Acknowledging its destructive power, French General Foy remembered that, as the French approached Vimeiro Hill, '18 pieces of cannon opened on them at once, and the Shrapnel shells at the first discharge struck down the files of a platoon, and then exploded in the platoon that followed'.

The archaeologists from the Institute of Archaeology at Universidade Nova de Lisboa, led by F E Rodrigues Ferreira and Rui Ribolhos, began their project with a survey of the historical record in August 2014, and presented the results of the fieldwork to the scientific community in September 2015.

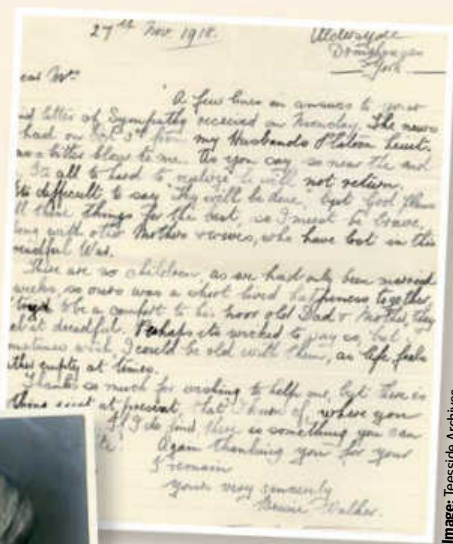
WWI 'AGONY AUNT'

Letters sent to 'agony aunt' Mary Pennyman from women whose loved ones had died during the First World War have been found at Ormesby Hall in Middlesbrough.

Mary, whose husband was fighting in the war, wrote letters of advice to the women, offering words of comfort, and gave them the opportunity to speak about their sons and husbands.

The 120 documents contain stories of love and loss from a century ago, providing personal insight into women's struggles during the war.

One letter records the shock and hurt felt by the mother and sisters of a man who died in battle in 1917. On 13 February 1918, his mother wrote, 'Dear Mrs Pennyman, Thank you so much for your kind and sympathetic letter. Yes, my youngest son Bernard was reported killed on October 4th. It has been a terrible blow to my two daughters



and myself and, but for the cessation of his letters, I cannot realise that he will not come back to me.'

The letters, housed at Teesside Archives, will be the subject of a three-year digitisation project to create an online platform so people can see them first-hand, and discover the stories for themselves.

NEWS IN BRIEF

WWII soldier bear

A bronze statue commemorating the life and military service of

Wojtek the Bear has been unveiled in Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens.

Soldiers of the 22nd Artillery Supply Company of the Polish II Corps adopted Wojtek as a cub during the Second World War. He was drafted into the Polish Army, and saw combat at the Battle of Monte Cassino in 1944, where he helped his fellow troops carry live ammunition.

Wojtek's presence increased the soldiers' morale, and he even joined them in drinking beer and smoking the occasional cigarette.

After the war, the veteran bear moved to Berwickshire, before being transferred to Edinburgh Zoo. He died in 1963.

The statue, sculpted by Alan Beattie Herriot, was funded by donations raised by the Wojtek Memorial Trust.



Weeping Window

The iconic Weeping Window poppy sculpture, which was unveiled at the Tower of London in 2014, is now on display outside St George's Hall in Liverpool.

The sculpture is made up of thousands of ceramic poppies, representing the British and Commonwealth military fatalities of World War I.

Liverpool is the second city to host the Weeping Window, which will be on display at locations throughout the country between now and 2018.



WWI e-book

BBC journalists from across the UK have collaborated to create a new, free, interactive e-book titled *World War One at Home*.

The e-book uses original journalism, digital technology, and archival film, along with sound, images, and documents from the Imperial War Museums to reflect the lives of many people caught up in the conflict, and the communities from which they came.

It includes films such as that of the young men from the Grimsby Chums as they prepare for the battlefield; archive audio from 'eye-witnesses', including Manchester war widow Kitty Eckersley; and, among the many photographs, one of Lizzie the Elephant, who toiled for the war effort on the streets of Sheffield.

The book has been endorsed by Kate Adie, and can be downloaded at www.bbc.co.uk/ww1



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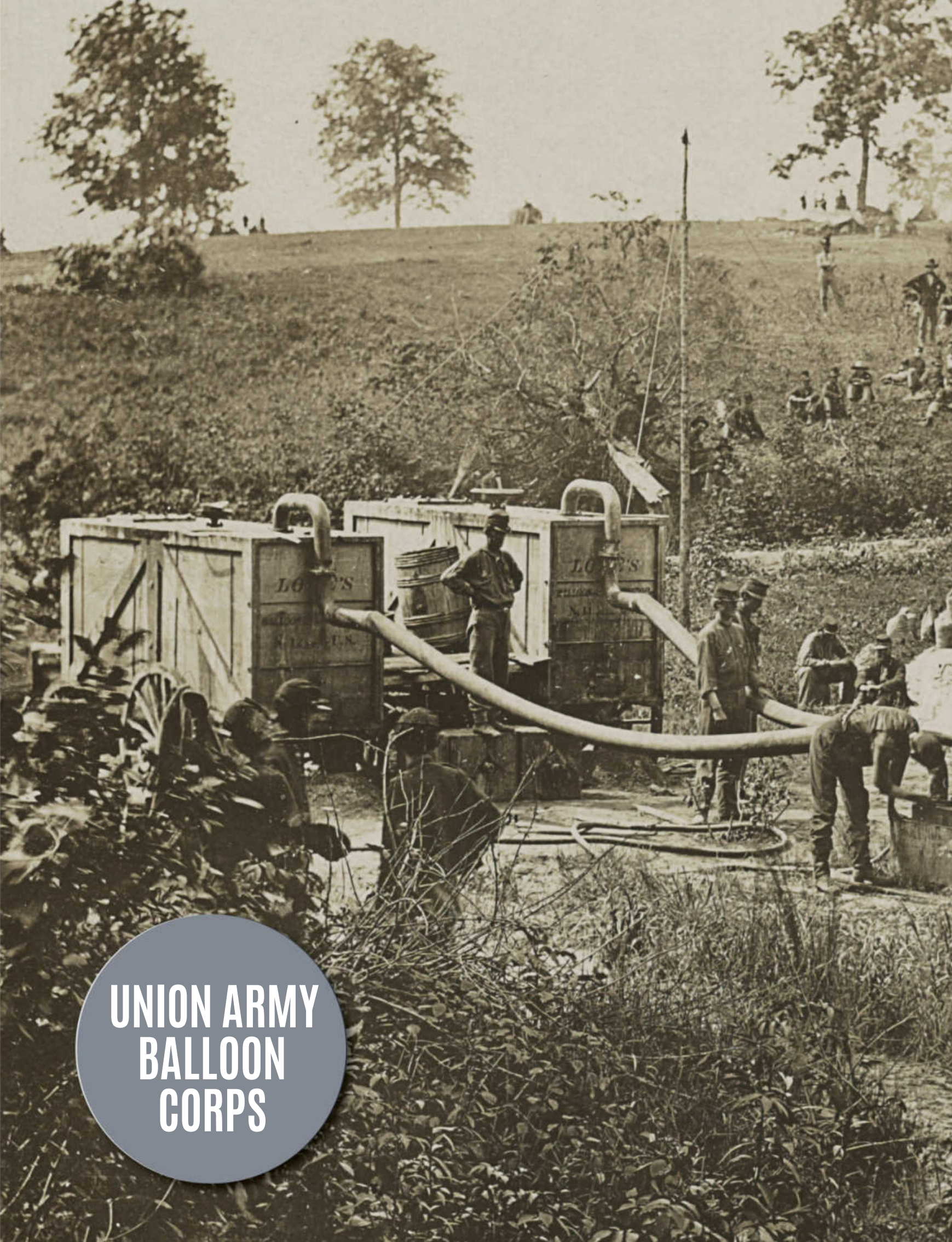
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**UNION ARMY
BALLOON
CORPS**

PROFESSOR LOWE INFLATING THE BALLOON *INTREPID*, VIRGINIA 1862

This unusual picture tells the story of a remarkable figure, his career, and a series of technological breakthroughs. The photograph – taken in 1862 by Mathew Brady, the prolific chronicler of the American Civil War – shows soldiers of the Union Army Balloon Corps helping to inflate the balloon *Intrepid* just before the Battle of Fair Oaks in Virginia.

The battle was not decisive – both sides claimed victory – but the balloon crew played an effective role, observing the Confederate lines and reporting back to Union HQ.

Intrepid was one of several balloons of various sizes used by the Corps under the direction of Professor Thaddeus Lowe. A skilled and experienced aeronaut – he had been planning a transatlantic crossing when war intervened – Lowe secured the title Chief Aeronaut in June 1861.

Invited to Washington, he demonstrated the reconnaissance capabilities of the balloon to Abraham Lincoln himself. Ascending to 500 feet, while still tethered to the ground, Lowe reported on what could be seen at a distance of up to 50 miles with the use of a telegraph. His message read:

I have pleasure in sending you this first dispatch ever telegraphed from an aerial station and in acknowledging indebtedness to your encouragement for the opportunity of demonstrating the availability of the science of aeronautics in the service of the country.

Suitably impressed, Lincoln appointed him there and then.

The use of balloons in warfare had, in fact, first been recorded nearly 70 years earlier during the French Revolutionary Wars, at the Battle of Fleurus in 1794. The real innovation shown in this photograph is the device used for inflating the balloons.

The tanks on the army wagons – branded with Lowe's name – were specially designed to create hydrogen gas on the move, using a mixture of water, iron filings, and sulphuric acid. Previously, balloons had been inflated by methane from the gas mains – making transportation to locations where they could usefully be deployed both difficult and dangerous. The mobile tanks (12 were built) even enabled balloons to be taken on barges up-river to reach battlefields that would otherwise have been inaccessible. •

Image: Library of Congress

Text: Maria Earle



MHM

CONFLICT SCIENTISTS

Patrick Boniface considers the influence of science on warfare

LEWIS NIXON



Image: Library of Congress, LC-B2-4893-17

Lewis Nixon was an energetic man with a furious passion for his work as a naval architect.

This work led him to design and build the United States Navy's first modern battleships and submarines, and he played a major role in the development of one of the key components of anti-submarine warfare: sonar.

Nixon was born on 7 April 1861 in Leesburg, Virginia, in the midst of the American Civil War. Leesburg changed hands several times during the war between North and South.

In 1882, Nixon graduated from the United States Naval Academy

and was sent to the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, London, to study naval architecture, where, on completion of his course, he graduated top of his class.

On his return to America, the US Navy posted the young engineer to John Roach & Sons shipyard in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he supervised the construction of three new protected cruisers. Radically, in 1890, Nixon, with David W Taylor, designed three new Indiana-class battleships: USS *Indiana*, USS *Massachusetts*, and USS *Oregon* – the first modern battleships designed and built for the US Navy.

“A discovery may be made any day that will enable one battleship to discharge a tremendous volume of electricity at a ship, perhaps five miles distant, and instantly kill everyone on board.”

Lewis Nixon

BIOGRAPHY

Born: 7 April 1861 in Leesburg, Virginia

Married: Sally Lewis Wood

Died: 23 September 1940

Known for: his work as a naval architect and the development of sonar technology

BELOW Lewis Nixon in Crescent Shipyard, standing next to one of his projects.



RIGHT The building of the USS *Holland*, which was launched on 17 May 1897.

Image: US National Archives and Records Administration

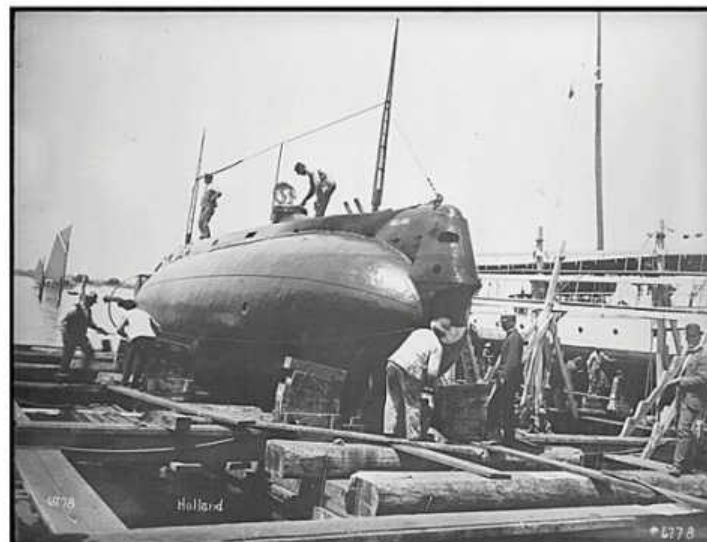
BUILDING BUSINESS

Nixon's passion for shipbuilding led him to resign from the US Navy to work for William Cramp & Sons Shipbuilding Company, which built USS *Indiana*. He worked there as Superintendent of Construction until January 1895, at which point he left to start his own business operating Crescent Shipyard in New Jersey.

His business proved successful. It won important US Navy shipbuilding contracts, including the cruiser USS *Chattanooga* and monitor USS *Florida*, as well as, in 1896, the US Navy's first submarine, USS *Holland*, which had been designed by John Philip Holland.

Nixon had interests in a number of ancillary enterprises, including the International Smokeless Powder and Dynamite Company. He was also the president of the United States Long Distance Automobile Company, but shipbuilding was in his blood.

In 1902, he was persuaded to consolidate Crescent Shipbuilding, along with six other shipyards, into the United States Shipbuilding Company. Unfortunately, the venture was not a success and led Crescent Shipbuilding to bankruptcy. It would re-emerge,



in 1904, as the shipbuilding division of Bethlehem Steel Corporation, but without Lewis Nixon.

He, meanwhile, built ten fast torpedo-boats for Tsar Nicholas II, and operated a shipyard at Perth Amboy in New Jersey.

UNDERWATER DETECTION

The loss of the liner RMS *Titanic* sent shockwaves around the world. In the shipbuilding industry, it led to a complete reassessment of construction standards and survivability. Lewis Nixon and Frenchman Paul Langevin both explored various ways to detect icebergs, and separately came up with similar approaches using sound waves.

Sound waves travel better through water than air. By measuring the time it takes to send, bounce, and receive the sound wave, an indication of the

location of the ocean floor and any obstructions can be determined. If icebergs could be found, so too could submerged submarines. This led to the creation of a whole new school of naval technology and strategy, known today as anti-submarine warfare.

Nixon's early work in establishing the viability of sonar technology led others in the field to further advance the techniques and practices he pioneered.

Over time, sonar systems were developed in two separate streams: passive sonar and active sonar. Active sonar uses sound generated by the hunting vessel to detect its submerged target. The biggest drawback of this approach is that it makes the hunter known to all enemies in the area, rendering it a target itself.

Passive sonar is stealthier in nature, using the sounds generated from submerged vessels to detect them. During both World Wars, engineers across the globe tried to limit noise on submarines. Their solutions could be quite elaborate, involving everything from mounting engines and turbines on rubber mats to lining the vessel's sides with sound-absorbing materials.

Even today, special acoustic tiles are mounted on the outside of hunter-killer submarines. While the modern versions are more advanced, the idea is nothing new. Similar anechoic tiles were fitted to the Japanese I-400 super-submarines of World War II.

Lewis Nixon died on 23 September 1940 at Long Branch in New Jersey. •

5 QUOTES FROM NIXON

“I find that I cannot retain my self-respect and remain the leader of the Tammany organisation.”

“It is true we have the right to import steel free at present, and a great many people say you can go abroad and buy the material and get a rebate.”

“We cannot go to work in building American ships and buy our material 3,000 miles away.”

“It will help us if you took the tariff off of anything. Anything you take the tariff off of will be cheaper.”

“They do not know the difficulties, the heart-breaking difficulties. The chances of the boat being belated, the chances of delay in shipment, and the chances of ship-plates being bent and angles distorted.”

IN CONTEXT: NIXON

Surveying the deep

Many seemingly harmless technologies, developed for peaceful purposes, find their greatest usefulness in the heat of battle. Sonar was one such technology.

The need for such technology, developed to find and measure the size and composition of icebergs in the North Atlantic, became frighteningly apparent in the early part of the 20th century, after the loss of the RMS *Titanic*.

Although undoubtedly useful in this role, sonar's greatest application came when used against submerged submarines during the First World War. Sonar played a crucial and, some might say, war-winning role in the Battle of the Atlantic.

Today, the technology is continually enhanced. Modern warships utilise its ability to peer through ocean layers, picking out adversaries hidden deep in the ocean.

SHEPARD'S WAR

THE WAR ART OF THE MAN WHO DREW WINNIE-THE-POOH AND TOAD OF TOAD HALL

Ernest Howard Shepard (1879-1976) was an established and successful illustrator before the outbreak of the First World War, working regularly for *Punch* and having illustrated editions of *Aesop's Fables*, *David Copperfield*, and *Tom Brown's School Days*.

Later, between 1924 and 1931, he would produce illustrations that soon became, and have remained, world famous – for A A Milne's *When We Were Very Young* (1924), *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926), *Now We Are Six* (1927), *The House at Pooh Corner* (1928), and finally for Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (1931).

The last is, of course, a conservative pastoral idyll, a classic of the Edwardian era, in which the respectable classes of Middle England (Ratty, Mole, and Badger) put the world to rights – a world momentarily turned upside down by the antics of a dissolute squire (Toad) and an insurrection of the lower orders (the weasels and stoats).

In one notable image, in which Shepard depicts the retaking of Toad Hall, we see our heroes charging into the great hall and putting a horde of rodents to flight. Like the Bolsheviks of contemporary conservative discourse, the rodents seem to represent some sort of eruption from the social depths.

Shepard's image of the battle for Toad Hall is perhaps an echo of his wartime experiences, the weasels and stoats reminiscent of a Germanic horde storming across no-man's-land – much as the orcs of Tolkien, another First World War soldier, seem to have been.

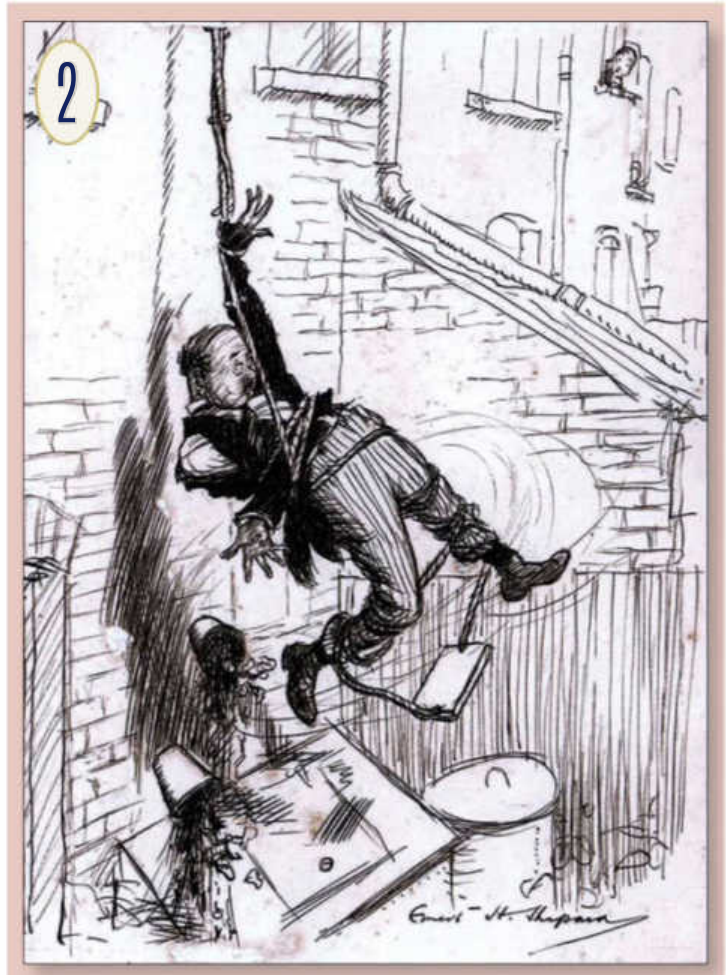
Shepard continued his commercial work, much of it for *Punch*, even after joining up in late 1915, but he also used his artistic skills in other ways, creating an extraordinarily diverse visual record of his time on the Western Front (he took part in the Battles of the Somme, Arras, and Passchendaele) and in Italy (where he served during 1918).

As an artillery officer, he made precise topographical drawings for tactical use by his battery. One of these, of the Italian mountains, measures 1.5m in length. Other images depict the everyday life of soldiers – in combat, in trenches and dugouts, and in the rear areas.

Characteristic of Shepard's work is the relative simplicity of his figures, the way in which he uses body and gesture to convey meaning, and his ability to invest the most mundane activities with humour and interest.

Despite Shepard's determination to make light of the war, viewing the splendid exhibition currently showing at London's House of Illustration, or thumbing the pages of the equally fine book that complements it, one senses a shift of mood as the scale and intensity of the tragedy to which he was witness impressed themselves upon the artist.

Shepard is never an 'anti-war' artist. But his depictions of the deserts of industrialised destruction created by the war – in part by the very guns he served – are visceral.





3

1. SELF PORTRAIT, ERNEST H SHEPARD, FEB 5TH 1974

Though dated almost 60 years later, this self-portrait of the artist was clearly done at some point during his First World War service in the artillery.

2. THE 'ANTI-ZEPP' FIRE ESCAPE. JONES (PRACTISING 'EASY' DESCENTS). "OH WHY DID I LEAVE THAT BOOK OF DIRECTIONS AT THE TOP?"

The first Zeppelin raids caused panic in Britain. Shepard responded with this gently mocking cartoon.



4

3. FACTS FROM THE FRONT - TACTICAL USE, BY THE ENEMY, OF THE MORE RESILIENT UNITS OF THE LANDSTURM [HOME GUARD] FOR NEGOTIATING BELGIAN DYKES

Many of Shepard's early war cartoons for *Punch* exploited popular stereotypes of Germans, depicting them as authoritarian, regimented, pompous, corpulent, generally ridiculous, and usually sporting Kaiser Wilhelm moustaches.

4. "FASTER! NO, I AIN'T GOIN' NO FASTER, YOUNG 'IGH VELOCITY. I AIN'T GOT BUT TWO SPEEDS, SLOW AND STOP."

Drawn during Shepard's service on the Somme in 1916.



5

5. OFFICER (TO WOUNDED IRISH SOLDIER): "SO YOU WANT ME TO READ YOUR GIRL'S LETTER TO YOU?" PAT: "SURE, SIR, AND AS IT'S RATHER PRIVATE, WILL YOU PLEASE STUFF SOME COTTON WOOL IN YER EARS WHILE YE READ IT?"

This cartoon, also from Shepard's Somme period, though it makes use of popular anti-Irish stereotypes, is a good example of the artist's ability to invest the simplest scenes of everyday military life with interest and meaning. Note the way in which the artist conveys an obvious class difference between officer and common soldier.



6

6. THE NEWCOMER: "MY VILLAGE, I THINK." THE ONE IN POSSESSION: "SORRY, OLD THING, I TOOK IT HALF AN HOUR AGO."

Drawn during Shepard's service at Passchendaele in 1917. The humour, in the context of a village destroyed by shelling, is richly ironic.



7

7. THE SCROUNGERS, NOVEMBER 1918. "WOT ABAHT IT, BILL. SHALL US BE PUSHIN' ON, OR SHALL US WAIT TILL THE TRAMS GET RUNNIN'?"

Drawn during Shepard's service in Italy, late 1918.

8. CLOSE OF THE ITALIAN SEASON. GRAND 'PEACE BALLET' FINALE

This cartoon, representing an improvised show, was drawn in Italy after the Armistice. It features officers of the 105th Siege Battery, with which Shepard served.



8

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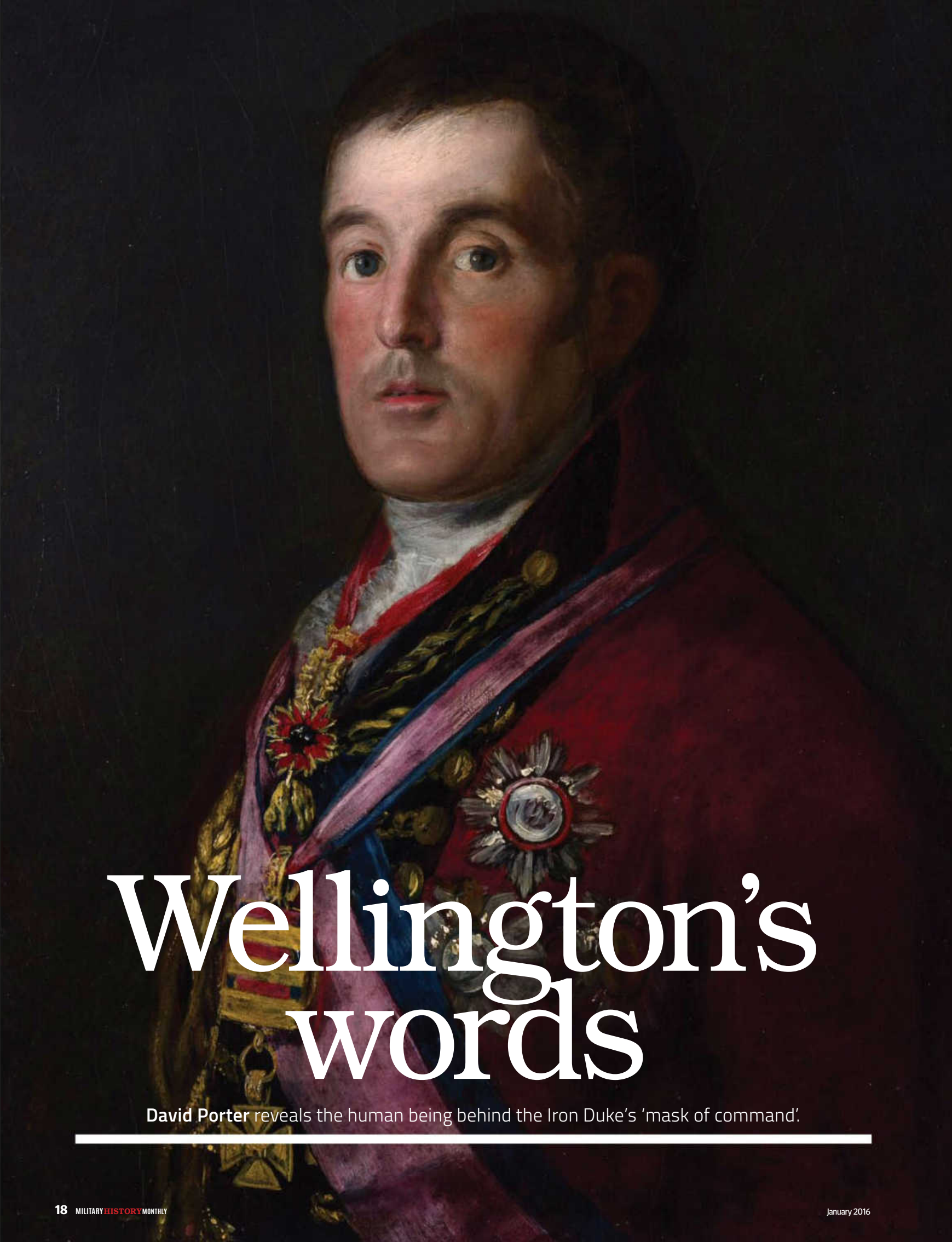


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A detailed oil painting of the Duke of Wellington, showing him from the chest up. He is wearing a dark red military coat with a blue sash and several medals on his chest. He has a serious expression and is looking slightly to the left. The background is dark and indistinct.

Wellington's words

David Porter reveals the human being behind the Iron Duke's 'mask of command'.

The 165 years since Wellington's death have seen an enormous number of biographies and other books about 'the Iron Duke'. Arthur Wellesley seems, in consequence, a remote, autocratic military commander with precious little humanity about him.

The truth is far more complex. Beneath the 'mask of command' lay a very human mix of qualities and failings. These are best seen in his own words, and those of his contemporaries.

First, though, some background, starting with a brief note on names. When Wellington was born, he was known as the Honourable Arthur Wesley. In 1798, the family changed its surname to Wellesley, which Arthur's eldest brother believed to be the ancient and proper spelling. Following his victory at Talavera, Arthur became Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, with the subsidiary title of Baron Douro of Wellesley.

Arthur Wellesley was born in Dublin on 29 April 1769, a younger son of the Earl of Mornington, but he never considered himself to be Irish. He once remarked that 'Because a man is born in a stable, that does not make him into a horse.'

His formidable mother thought him 'fit for powder and nothing else', though she felt there was little hope of him even in the Army. When he was 18, she saw him in uniform for the first time, and commented to a friend that 'Anyone can see he has not the cut of a soldier.'

YOUNG OFFICER

Initially, there was little to distinguish him from scores of other young officers drawn from the minor nobility who could scrape together enough money to buy promotion – as was the accepted way at the time.

By 1794, he was a lieutenant-colonel commanding the 33rd Foot in the Netherlands, fighting the armies of Revolutionary France. He fought well in his first action, a skirmish at Boxtel, and, though the campaign was a fiasco, he later recalled that he had learned 'what one ought not to do, and that is always something'.



ABOVE Arthur Wellesley at the time of his service in India (1797-1805).

In 1797, promoted to full colonel, he arrived in India, where he rapidly learned the practicalities of commanding armies in a theatre where disease could easily kill far more men than any enemy. His rise to prominence really began with the storming of Seringapatam two years later, and by 1802 he was one of the army's youngest major-generals.

In 1803, his forces stormed the Maratha stronghold of Ahmednuggur in less than 30 minutes. One of the defenders wrote: 'The English are a strange people, and their general a wonderful man. They came here in the morning, looked at the... wall, walked over it, killed the garrison, and returned to breakfast! What can withstand them?'

Barely six weeks later, he won a brilliant victory at Assaye, which earned him a knighthood. He remembered it as 'the bloodiest... that I ever saw'. Many years later, when asked which he considered his greatest victory, he replied simply 'Assaye'.

THE PENINSULA

He finally returned to England in 1805, where he had a chance meeting with »

'They may overwhelm me, but I don't think they will outmanoeuvre me.'

Wellington

MAIN IMAGE Wellington at the time of Waterloo.



ABOVE Wellington at the Battle of Assaye (1803), which he regarded as the bloodiest and hardest of his career.

RIGHT *Portrait of a Noble Duke* by cartoonist William Heath (1829). Heath's image captures the public persona of 'the Iron Duke' – complete with trademark hooked nose.

Nelson. At first, the Admiral made a bad impression. Years later Wellington recalled that: 'He entered at once into a conversation with me, if I can call it conversation, for it was almost all on his side and all about himself, and really in a style so vain and silly as to surprise and almost disgust me.'

Nelson left the room for a moment to find out who the general was, and returned in a very different manner. 'All that I thought a charlatan style had vanished and he talked with a good sense... in fact he talked like an officer and a statesman... I don't know that I ever had a conversation that interested me more.'

Wellington was already attracting favourable attention at the highest levels. William Pitt said of him: 'He never makes a difficulty or hides his ignorance in vague generalities. If I put a question to him, he answers it distinctly; if I wanted an explanation, he gave it clearly; if I desired an opinion, I got from him one supported by reasons which were always sound. He states every difficulty before he undertakes any service, but never after he has undertaken it.'

The Peninsular War, which was to bring him to international prominence, began in

'I hate that cheering. If you once allow soldiers to express an opinion, they may on some other occasion hiss instead of cheer.'

Wellington



1808. Shortly before sailing to take command of the British forces in Portugal, he gave his assessment of the French armies:

...I have not seen them since the campaign in Flanders, when they were capital soldiers, and a dozen years of victory under Bonaparte must have made them better still. They have, besides, it seems, a system of strategy which has outmanoeuvred and overwhelmed all the armies of Europe. 'Tis enough to make one thoughtful... they may overwhelm me, but I don't think they will outmanoeuvre me. First, because I am not afraid of them as everyone else seems to be; and secondly, because, if what I hear of their system of manoeuvres is true, I think it is a false one against steady troops.

OLD NOSEY

Henceforward, until Napoleon's first abdication in 1814, Wellington was almost constantly in action, as his forces fought their way through Portugal and Spain into southern France, beating a succession of distinguished French commanders.

His victories boosted the morale of his multinational army to the point where it felt itself invincible – even the previously despised Portuguese and Spanish contingents proved that, with good leadership, they could fight as well as any other army in Europe.

To the Portuguese troops he was always 'Douro' (from one of his earliest successes), and to the British rank-and-file he was 'Our Arthur' or 'Old Nosey – the long-nosed bugger who beats the French'.

He never sought to emulate Napoleon's familiarity with his men, and felt uncomfortable when he was cheered by his troops. As he remarked to Lady Shelley after the Waterloo campaign: 'I hate that cheering. If you once allow soldiers to express an opinion, they may on some other occasion hiss instead of cheer.'

Despite his legendary reputation as a disciplinarian, he retained the respect (and increasingly the affection) of his men. According to one apocryphal story, he once forgot the day's password, and an Irish sentry



Image: WPL

let him pass with the comment 'God bless your crooked nose: I would sooner see it than ten thousand men.'

Private Wheeler of the 51st Foot wrote years later: 'If England should require... her Army again... let me have Old Nosey to command... we should always be well supplied with rations [and] we should be sure to give the enemy a damned good thrashing. What can a soldier desire more?'

SCUM OF THE EARTH?

After Sir William Beresford's pyrrhic victory at Albuera in 1811, he visited a field hospital full of casualties from the 29th Regiment. Wellington was deeply moved, and uncharacteristically started to give an impromptu speech: 'Men of the 29th, I am sorry to see so many of you here...'. He was interrupted by a wounded sergeant: 'If you had commanded us, My Lord, there wouldn't be so many of us here.'

In 1813, he did famously describe his troops as 'the very scum of the earth', but

it is a quotation almost invariably taken out of context. He actually said:

A French army is composed very differently from ours. The conscription calls out a share of every class – no matter whether your son or my son – all must march. But our[s]... are the very scum of the earth. People talk of their enlisting from their fine military feeling... no such thing. Some of our men enlist from having got bastard children, some for minor offences, many more for drink. But you can hardly conceive such a set brought together, and it really is wonderful that we should have made them the fine fellows they are.

He was often far more critical of his officers, writing that almost none of them 'ever reads a regulation or an order... in any other manner than as an amusing novel...', and 'there is nothing so stupid as a gallant officer'. »



Image: WPL

Such frustration was understandable, given some of the influential but hopelessly incompetent officers he was saddled with, including General Spencer, whom he described as ‘exceedingly puzzle-headed’ after hearing how he constantly referred to the Tagus as the Thames.

When he heard that Major-General Erskine was being sent to join his forces in Portugal, Wellington complained that he ‘generally understood him to be a madman’. The official response was: ‘No doubt he is sometimes a little mad, but in his lucid intervals he is an uncommonly clever fellow; and I trust he will have no fit during the campaign, though he looked a little wild as he embarked.’

It may well have been such officers who provoked his later comment on the right way to run an army: ‘There is but one way to do as I did – to have A HAND OF IRON. The moment there was the slightest neglect in any department, I was down on them.’

PAPERWORK

Military bureaucracy added to his frustrations. He wrote to Lord Liverpool, the Secretary of State for War:

My Lord,

If I attempted to answer the mass of futile correspondence which surrounds me, I should be debarred from the serious business of campaigning... So long as I retain an independent position, I shall see no officer under my command is debarred by attending to the futile

ABOVE His greatest triumph: Wellington galvanises his troops as darkness falls on the battlefield of Waterloo.

‘All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don’t know by what you do.’

Wellington

drivelling of mere quill-driving from attending to his first duty, which is and always has been to train the private men under his command that they may without question beat any force opposed to them in the field.

Although normally reserved, Wellington could be open about his own limitations. During the retreat from Burgos, he became separated from his staff. He then encountered an officer who nervously admitted to having lost the army’s baggage-train. Instead of the expected outburst, Wellington replied, ‘Well, I can’t be surprised... for I cannot find my army.’

For much of the Peninsular War, his forces were heavily outnumbered, and he relied on good intelligence to counteract the disadvantage. ‘All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don’t know by what you do. That’s what I called “guessing what was at the other side of the hill”.’

Lack of resources – especially properly qualified engineers – frequently compelled him to improvise, although he often managed to turn this to his advantage. He later commented: ‘The French planned their campaigns just as you might make a splendid piece of harness: it looks very well until it gets broken, and then you are done for. Now I make my campaigns of ropes. If anything went wrong, I tied a knot and went on.’

AN AGGRESSIVE GENERAL AND A VETERAN ARMY

Although sometimes dismissed as no more than a competent defensive general,

'I make my campaigns of ropes. If anything went wrong, I tied a knot and went on.'

Wellington

Wellington's opponents thought otherwise. General Foy, who commanded a French division at the Battle of Salamanca, believed that the victory

raises Lord Wellington's reputation almost to the level of Marlborough. Hitherto we have been aware of his prudence, his eye for choosing a position, and his skill in utilising it. At Salamanca he has shown himself a great and able master of manoeuvres. He kept his dispositions concealed for almost the whole day; he waited till we were committed to our movements before he developed his own; he played a safe game; he fought in oblique order. It was a battle in the style of Frederick the Great.

By 1813/14, Wellington's army had become a veteran elite force. As he later wrote of his Peninsular War army:

The national character of the three kingdoms was strongly marked in my army. I found the English regiments always in the best humour when we were well supplied with beef; the Irish when we were in the wine countries; and the Scotch when the dollars for pay came in... I assure you it was a fact... and I will venture to say that in our later campaigns, and especially when we crossed the Pyrenees, there never was an army in the world in better spirits, better order, or better discipline.

His army was rapidly broken up after Napoleon's first abdication in April 1814. Some units were sent across the Atlantic to take part in the War of 1812, while others were disbanded. He was appointed ambassador to France, but served only briefly in this post before replacing Lord Castlereagh as the British representative at the Congress of Vienna, convened to settle the future of Europe.

Napoleon's triumphant return to France from Elba in March 1815 led to Wellington's hasty appointment as commander of the Anglo-Dutch forces assembling in Belgium, alongside a Prussian army under Field-Marshal Gebhard von Blücher.

WATERLOO

The Duke was appalled at the state of his forces. Some veteran units from the Peninsular

War formed a reliable cadre, but too many were raw recruits. Wellington's frustration provoked the comment that he had what he termed 'an infamous army, very weak and ill-equipped, and a very inexperienced staff'.

Just before the Waterloo campaign began, the politician Thomas Creevey asked Wellington if he was confident of victory as they walked through a Brussels park. He pointed to a British private gazing at some statues and replied: 'By God, I think Blücher and I can do the business. There, it all depends on that article there, whether we can do the business or not. Give me enough of it and I am sure.'

On the morning of the Battle of Waterloo, Napoleon was equally confident of destroying Wellington's army. Marshal Soult urged him to manoeuvre Wellington out of his strong position, warning that British infantry was 'the very devil' to attack frontally.

The Emperor's response was scathing: 'Because you have been beaten by Wellington, you consider him a great general. I tell you that he is a bad general, that the English are bad troops, and that this affair is no more serious than having breakfast.'

Soon after the battle, Wellington famously remarked:

BELOW Wellington is led along a mountain track during the Peninsular War.

It has been a damned serious business – Blücher and I have lost 30,000 men. It has been a damned nice thing – the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life... By God! I don't think it would have done if I had not been there.

The slaughter on the battlefield affected him deeply. Dr John Hume remembered calling on him early the next morning with a provisional casualty list:

As I entered, he sat up, his face covered with the dust and sweat of the previous day, and extended his hand, which I took... whilst I told him of... such of the casualties as had come to my knowledge... I felt the tears dropping fast upon my hand and... saw them chasing one another in furrows over his dusty cheeks. He brushed them away... and said to me in a voice tremulous with emotion, 'Well, thank God I don't know what it is to lose a battle, but certainly nothing can be more painful than to gain one with the loss of so many of one's friends.'

David Porter became an author after working for the MoD for almost 30 years. Nine of his books on the Second World War have been published, together with numerous magazine articles.



Image: WPL

A NEW INTENSITY

1915/16





When it began, lines of soldiers, some in brightly coloured uniforms, had charged at the enemy behind officers waving swords and men carrying flags. The French, fighting this way on the Western Front in August 1914, had lost a quarter of their men in the first month of the war.

It could not continue in this fashion. Since the last major European war – the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 – the balance of military technology had tilted matters decisively in favour of the defensive.

Magazine-rifles, machine-guns, and massed artillery created an impenetrable ‘storm of steel’ in the open ground between rival armies. Everyone dug in. Everyone needed more guns and shells to have any chance of delivering the counter-fire necessary to give attacking infantry a chance of getting across no-man’s-land.

During 1915, it seemed there was never quite enough manpower or materiel. The failure of repeated attempts to break through the opposing trench-system was not because of their inherent hopelessness, but because the resources were inadequate. The papers talked of ‘shell shortage’, and governments collapsed, charged with incompetence and neglect.

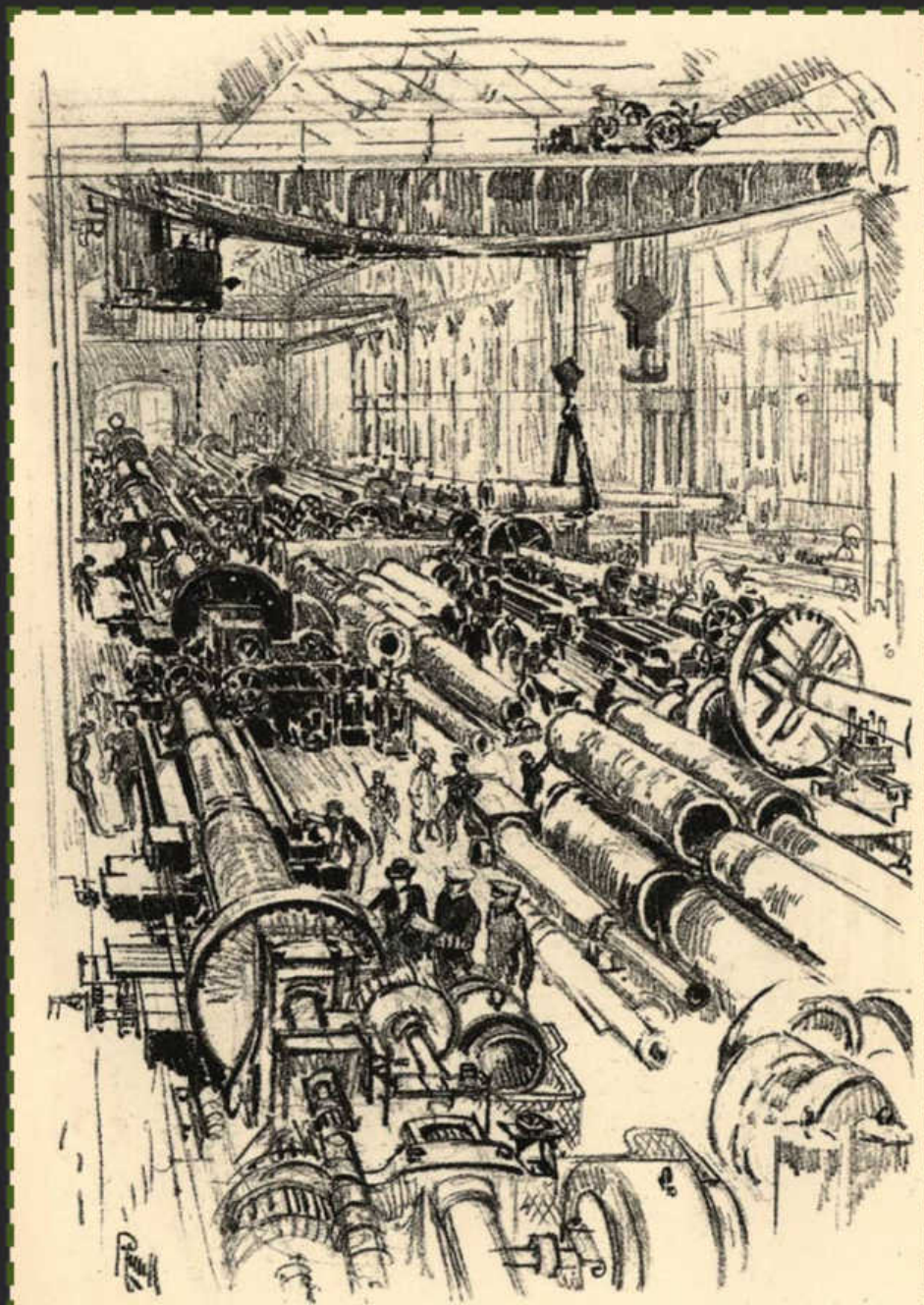
The bitter accounting in the winter of 1915/16 moved the war to its third phase. The first had been the brief, bloody, indecisive war of manoeuvre in August-September 1914. The second had been the relatively small-scale offensives of a few days, a week or two, at the most a month. The third would be the phase of giant (and futile) offensives – Verdun, the Somme, Passchendaele – that would grind on, month after month, during 1916 and 1917.

Jeremy Black analyses the transformation of war in the winter of 1915/16 – ‘the new intensity’ – and David Porter provides a detailed case-study, looking at the plans and preparations for the ten-month Battle of Verdun. »»

THE GREAT WAR CHANGES GEAR

HOW INDUSTRY
FUELLED THE
WAR MACHINE

Jeremy Black analyses
the transformation in
the character of war that
heralded the great offensives
of Verdun, the Somme,
and Passchendaele.



RIGHT *The Gun Shop.* Contemporary American war-artist Joseph Pennell captures the scale of modern industrialised warfare in this depiction of a gun-making workshop.

Image: WPL

There was a marked change of gear in the First World War as 1915 drew to a close and 1916 began. Great offensives were planned on a massive scale. The many failures of 1915 had left not so much a sense of stalemate, as a widespread belief that more troops, guns, and shells would be required in order to achieve success.

J F C 'Boney' Fuller, later a prominent military thinker, then a British officer on the Western Front, wrote to his mother in August 1915, 'One salient fact stands out throughout history... whichever side can throw the greatest number of projectiles against the other is the side which has the greatest chance of winning.'

The relative stability of the trench systems made it worthwhile deploying large numbers of heavy guns, since these could be brought up and supplied before the situation changed, as it did in manoeuvre warfare. Increased artillery, however, required a new level of mobilisation on the Home Front.

The year 1916 was to be pivotal. It was the last before the war was transformed by the Russian Revolution and America's entry into the conflict. But it was also a year of titanic battles, with Verdun, the Somme, Jutland, and the Brusilov Offensive on the Eastern Front.

Moreover, 1916 witnessed both attritional and breakthrough strategies on land, and also saw the combatants benefit from the gearing up of their economies for war the previous year.

THE FRONTS OF WAR

A key element in preparing for operations in 1916 was provided by the German attacks on Russian Poland in 1915.

That year, despite launching an attack on the British at Ypres in April, one in which they used chlorine gas to deadly effect, the Germans had focused on trying to force Russia into a separate peace. This policy was an admission of Allied strength and pressure on the Western Front, as well as of the difficulties of offensive warfare there.

Breakthroughs on the Eastern Front, however, had not, as yet, produced the strategic results hoped for. Russia would not, in the event, be forced into a separate peace until after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Nevertheless, German successes greatly increased the pressure on the Allies to react by taking steps, both on the Western Front and elsewhere, to assist Russia, which was also seriously affected by rising inflation, social discontent, and political pressure for change.

Russian defeats led the French General Staff to conclude that the war was without direction on the Allies' part, and this required the French to take the initiative in providing co-ordinated strategic planning: a theme that would continue through to 1918.

Attempts in 1915 to find the weak flanks of the Central Powers had failed at Gallipoli and Salonica, as well as on the Isonzo Front, on the Italian-Austrian border, and in Mesopotamia. These attempts reflected the widening out of the war in 1915, not least with Italy's entry into the conflict, but to French leaders they seemed to reveal a failure to grasp that Germany was the main enemy and that Germany's defeat could be achieved only on the Western Front – a view that anticipated American critics of the British focus on the Mediterranean in 1942-1943.

Italy's entry, like that of Bulgaria on the German side in 1915, and of Romania on the Allied side in 1916, reflected not a depth of commitment, but the determination of second-rank powers to grab opportunities. The aim was to gain territories, often small in themselves, but made both important and symbolic through nationalist myths.

'Whichever side can throw the greatest number of projectiles against the other is the side which has the greatest chance of winning.'

J F C 'Boney' Fuller

Italy was offered gains at the expense of Austria, especially the Trentino and Istria, the Bulgarians were promised Macedonia and most of Thrace, and Romania sought Transylvania from Austria.

Thus, what was at stake increased as the conflict expanded, and the strategic and political complexities of the war, and especially of the alliance systems, rose markedly.

THE STRATEGIC CONTEXT

For 1916, there was a pressure on the Allied side to focus on the major fronts and to co-ordinate a more directed war effort, even though attacks on 25 September 1915, by the British at Loos and the French in Champagne, had failed to breach the German second line.

Aristide Briand replaced René Viviani as French Prime Minister in October 1915, on

the platform of improving relations with France's allies so as to ensure a more co-operative war effort. The Allies, in conference at Chantilly, agreed a more coherent and ambitious grand plan than the essentially ad hoc attacks mounted in 1915.

Instead, there was to be series of concerted assaults by the British, Russians, and Italians on all major German fronts. These were designed to inflict sufficient all-round damage on the German Army to permit follow-up attacks by the French, with the goal of delivering the long-awaited breakthrough. Only thus would France be able to drive the Germans back from their conquests in Belgium and France.

The government in Berlin, meantime, was unwilling to accept a compromise peace that did not include substantial gains. The Germans, after all, had captured much enemy territory in 1914 (and, on the Eastern Front, more in 1915), forcing their enemies to take the offensive.

Yet the Allies had little inclination to make peace. David Lloyd George, for example, who had at first been unsure about Britain going to war, pressed in a speech in 1915 for 'a holy war' against German expansionism.

PREPARING FOR ATTACK

In preparation for the offensives of 1916, production had to rise rapidly to meet demand. There was a major stepping up in the production of munitions, notably artillery and shells.

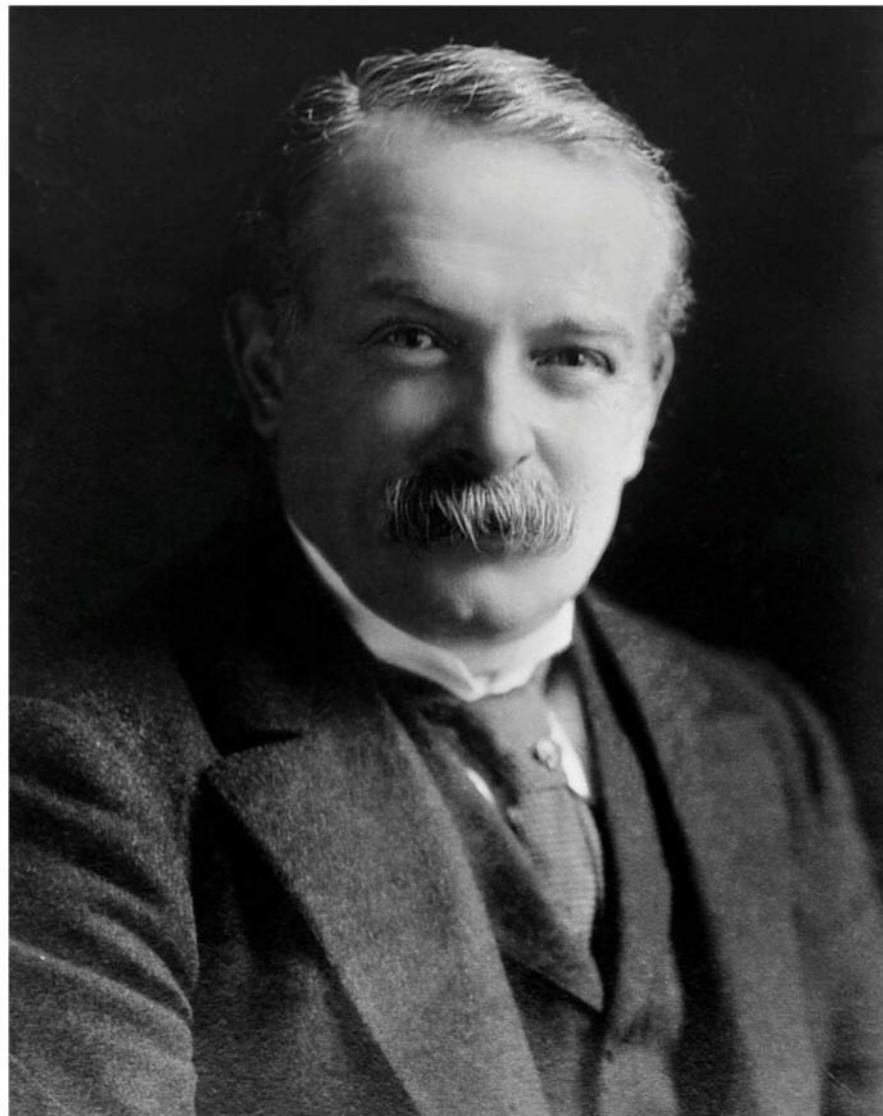
In the last quarter of 1914, for example, only 2,164 hand and rifle grenades were produced in Britain and, although the figure had risen to 65,315 in the first six months of 1915, it was still well below demand.

Only in October 1915 did the output of the Mills No.5 grenade meet demand, when it passed 300,000 a week. Already, in 1915, the monthly demand for percussion grenades alone had risen to 252,000. A total of 11,052,451 grenades were delivered from Britain in the second half of 1916.

There were huge increases in the output of other classes of munitions as well. British output of mortar ammunition rose from 50,000 rounds in April-June 1915 to 2,185,346 rounds for April-June 1916.

There were important qualitative as well as quantitative improvements in the production of munitions. Quality was improved in Britain by involving the trade, and by introducing co-operative group manufacture, whereby each manufacturer within the group made some of the components of the munition.

This allowed inspection to be carried out at one location, the premises where the components were put together, instead of at the premises of each manufacturer, thereby speeding up production. The increased skill of the trade reduced rejections, and the inspectors »



ABOVE The military stalemate became a political crisis. In Britain, it weakened the position of the long-serving Liberal Prime Minister Herbert Asquith (1852-1928, Prime Minister 1908-1916; **LEFT**), and elevated the star of the dynamic David Lloyd George (1863-1945; **RIGHT**). Lloyd George was, during the war years, successively Chancellor of the Exchequer, Minister of Munitions, Secretary of State for War, and Prime Minister (1916-1922).

There was powerful opposition to conscription within the Liberal Party.

from the Outside Engineering Branch of the Ministry of Munitions ensured that production increased to meet demand.

BRITISH POLITICS

Increases in production were a major achievement for the Minister of Munitions, David Lloyd George, and helped to make his name as a purposeful leader. He was a key example of the new kind of war leadership that was required if the Allies were to win.

Lloyd George's success in 1915 looked toward his replacement of Asquith as Prime Minister in 1916. Politics had changed in 1915, when problems with the war effort, specifically the unsuccessful Gallipoli expedition and a shortage of shells, had led Asquith, in May, to establish a coalition government in response to Tory and media attacks.

The key posts were retained by the Liberals, and the eight Conservatives who then entered the Cabinet made less of an impact than Labour was to do during the Second World War. Labour was also brought in now, however, and its leader, Arthur Henderson, became the first Labour Cabinet Minister. This was a testimony to the

major role of the trade unions in the wartime economy.

Political instability followed because Lloyd George, the most dynamic minister, had lost confidence in Asquith's ability to lead the country. Lloyd George wanted to mobilise all the country's resources for war, and this attitude and determination found more favour with the Conservatives than with many Liberals.

There was powerful opposition to conscription within the Liberal Party. It was seen as opposed to the Liberal tradition of civil liberty, and prominent Liberals, such as Reginald McKenna, Lloyd George's replacement as Chancellor of the Exchequer, resisted the measure.

Nevertheless, Lloyd George and the Conservatives were determined to see it through, in order to provide sufficient men for the trenches. A fudge, Lord Derby's semi-voluntary scheme, introduced in October 1915, failed to produce enough men, and, faced with Lloyd George's threat to resign that December, Asquith gave way.

The Military Service Act of January 1916 introduced conscription (though not for Ireland) for single men, and, in response to

a sudden surge in weddings, the married followed in April.

Nevertheless, there was still widespread dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war. In particular, there was pressure from back-bench Conservative opinion.

ALLIED MOBILISATION

The mobilisation of the war economy in Britain in turn provided a pattern for state intervention in the French economy. In 1916, state monopolies took over coal and oil production.

The establishment that year of the Inter-Allied Bureau of Munitions and Statistics was designed to help co-ordinate and plan munitions provision, including purchase in America. The increase in British munitions production alongside that of France revealed the significance to the Allies of the access they enjoyed to American industrial production, notably of steel. Their increased munitions production would have been impossible without that access.

GERMAN PLANNING

All armies were far better prepared for large-scale operations at the start of 1916 than

they had been at the outset of 1915. Far from pursuing rapid victory through battles of annihilation, German strategy in 1916, as in 1915, remained that of putting so much pressure on their opponents that they were persuaded to accept peace terms that yielded Germany an effective hegemony in Europe.

In 1916, however, the point where that pressure was being applied shifted from East to West, with the Germans concentrating on France instead of Russia – possibly unwisely given the weakness and vulnerability of the latter. At the same time, the German Navy maintained its focus on Britain, and that led directly to the Battle of Jutland.

Erich von Falkenhayn, the Chief of the German General Staff, sought to respond both to the developing strategic situation and to the nature of warfare. He proposed a means to victory very different to that of Moltke in launching the initial offensive in 1914.

Falkenhayn accepted that a breakthrough in the West, the military outcome sought by Moltke in 1914 (and achieved by Hitler in 1940), was impossible given the nature of warfare on the Western Front, specifically the defensive strength of modern weapons; the »



ABOVE Field-Marshal Erich von Falkenhayn (1861–1922), Chief of the German General Staff, C-in-C on the Western Front, and exponent of a new doctrine of attritional warfare.

NEW TECHNOLOGY: THE TANK



LEFT A Mark I British heavy tank on the Somme.

Up to 1915, technological change on land tended to be relatively slow and, in some respects, wars had been fought without regard to such changes as had occurred. The First World War was a watershed, not only tactically, but also with regard to innovation and invention, and it was during the war itself that this became apparent.

Warfare influenced new technology that then changed the nature of war, with the rate of change accelerating from 1915. Entirely new weapons, such as the tank and the light mortar, emerged as a direct consequence of the war; and soon enough for them to have an impact on the conflict. Moreover, slightly older but still new

technologies, notably submarines, radio, aircraft, and the development of synthetic materials, also grew apace.

Prior to the First World War, there had been growing interest in armoured vehicles. In 1909, Colonel Frederick Tench, the perceptive British military attaché in Berlin, reported that the Germans were proposing to develop power-traction vehicles 'of a type suitable for military use'.

Such interest intensified during the war as both sides sought a response to the apparently intractable problems posed by trench warfare. The process of 'invention' was complicated, as the ideas that were advanced were not always

viable, but they nevertheless contributed to the development of a practical weapon.

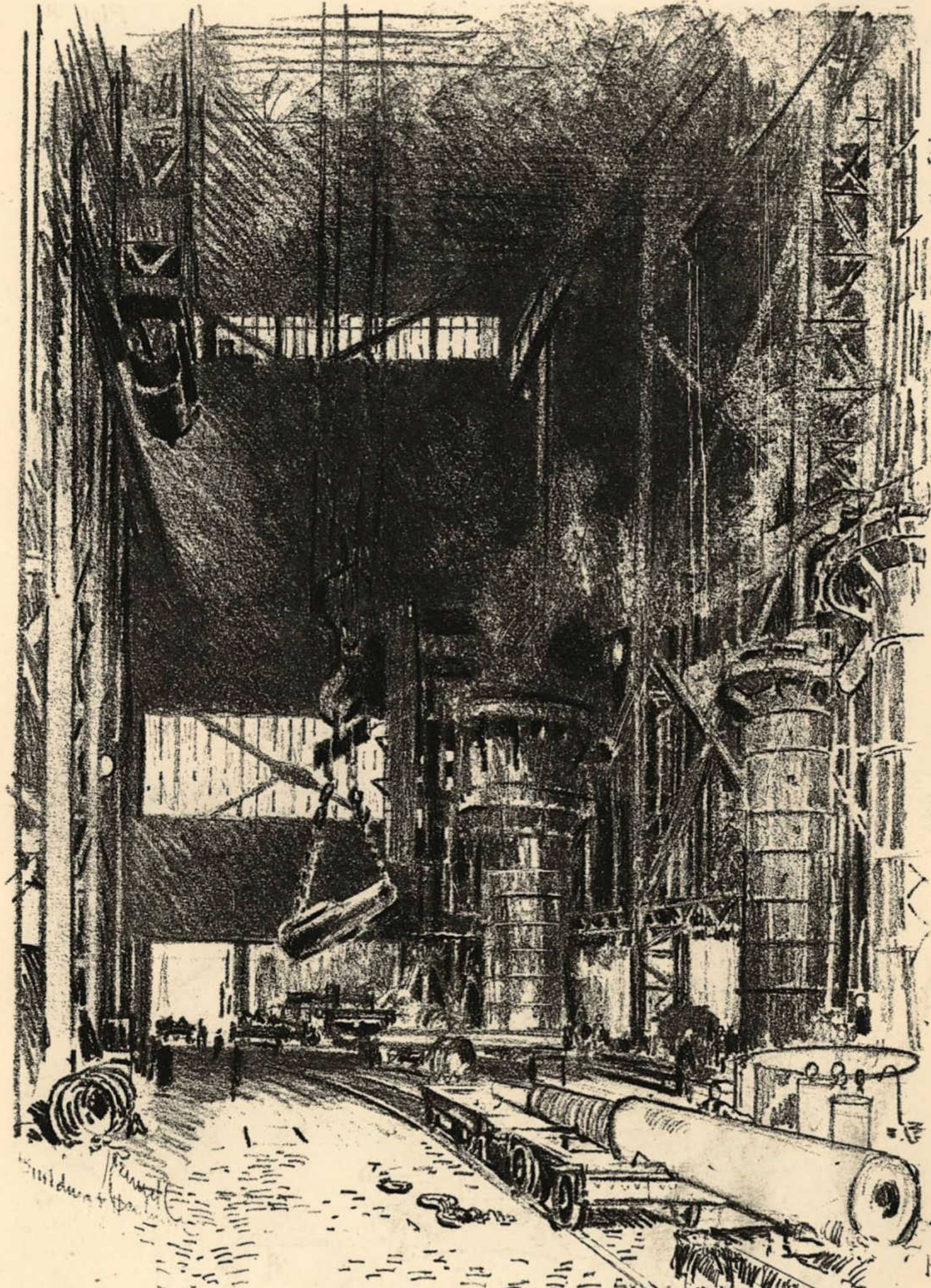
For example, in December 1914, Maurice Hankey, the influential secretary to the British Committee of Imperial Defence, had suggested,

Numbers of large, heavy rollers, themselves bullet-proof, propelled from behind by motor engines, geared very low, the driving wheels fitted with 'caterpillar' driving gear to grip the ground, the driver's seat armoured, and with a Maxim [machine] gun fitted. The object of this device would be to roll down the barbed wire by sheer weight, to give some cover to men creeping up behind, and to support the advance with machine-gun fire.

In the event, tanks were invented independently by the British and French in 1915, and were first used in combat by the British in the Battle of the Somme, on 15 September 1916, and by the French the following April.

Few tanks were available for use on the Somme, and there was a lack of tactical understanding about how best to employ them. Nevertheless, the British use of tanks was an aspect of their search for greater effectiveness during the lengthy Somme offensive, a search that is underrated due to the habitual emphasis on the disastrous tactics of the first day.

In contrast to the British and the French, the Germans moved slowly and built few tanks: a key aspect of their more general weakness in motorisation and mechanisation.





lack of mobility and communications on the battlefield; and the ease with which positions under attack could be reinforced.

Falkenhayn's alternative was the Verdun Offensive, designed to break the French will by inflicting heavy casualties and creating what was termed 'a blood mill'. Instead of strategic breakthrough, there was to be a strategy of attrition, one that focused primarily on killing large numbers of the enemy's soldiers.

Falkenhayn regarded France as weaker than Britain, and hoped the offensive would knock her out of the war. Without France, he argued, with reason, Britain would not be able to continue the fight on the Western Front (a verdict borne out by the events of both 1940, a British withdrawal, and 1944, a British campaign alongside strong allies).

ATTRITION

Counter-intuitively, both sides believed in 1916 that attritional conflict would be more successful if they took the initiative, and thus chose both the terrain for attack and a battlefield where they had massed artillery, especially the heavy

artillery that was required to damage opposing front-lines.

In addition, rather than pursuing a breakthrough approach, Falkenhayn planned to gain the advantage of the strategic offensive and the tactical defensive. He aimed to do this by advancing rapidly on the front of his choice to capture territory, which the French, rather than creating and consolidating a new front-line, would then suffer heavy losses trying to regain.

Verdun had great symbolic significance for the French. It was also seen as important to the defence of Paris against invasion from the north-east. In truth, such was the vulnerability of Verdun that the French might have strengthened their position by abandoning the city and the salient in which it lay; it would certainly have shortened their line.

The resources devoted to the German attack reflected its importance to them, as did the decision to entrust command of the Fifth Army to the Crown Prince of Prussia, the heir to Emperor Wilhelm II.

Falkenhayn hoped that a successful attack with limited objectives, an attack

ABOVE Women workers in a munitions factory in Glasgow.

OPPOSITE PAGE *The New Gun Pit* by Joseph Pennell.

based on an understanding both of the ground and of the French psyche, could be leveraged into a major outcome for Germany. In his plan, the tactical, operational, and strategic dimensions of the war were in concert.

THE WAR AT SEA

At sea, 1915 had seen the Germans launch unrestricted submarine warfare – attacking all shipping and sinking without warning – only for this campaign to be stopped as likely to provoke American intervention.

In 1915, the Germans had sought to use submarines to show that the sea, far from being a source of protection for Britain, was, in fact, a barrier to safe resupply – though, as in the Second World War, insufficient submarines were built to win the resulting battle.

Relatively few submarines were ordered, and most were delivered behind schedule, »

THE NEED FOR A BROAD ATTACK

In *The Times* of 29 September 1915, John Buchan – a key figure in British war propaganda, then visiting British headquarters on the Western Front – reported,

the summer's war has brought certain military facts into high relief, and one is the futility of attacks on a narrow front. You may pierce the enemy's line on a front of several miles, but the front closes up before you... An attack on a narrow front enables the enemy to bring up reserves of men and guns... A gap is no use unless you have room to manoeuvre in it, and so widen it.

Falkenhayn aimed to break the French will by creating what was termed 'a blood mill'.



ABOVE Painting shells in a British munitions factory.

in part because of problems with organising and supplying construction, but largely because of a lack of commitment from within the Navy to submarine warfare, and a preference, instead, for surface warships. This was in the context of a longstanding concentration of German industrial resources on the Army (a pattern that was to be repeated in the Second World War).

As a result, although submarines swiftly affected the conduct of operations, aspirations for their transformation into a war-winning weapon could not be realised.

Nonetheless, submarines benefited from an increase in range, seaworthiness, speed, and comfort, from improvements in the accuracy, range, and speed of torpedoes – which, by 1914, could travel 7,000 yards at 45 knots – and from the limited effectiveness of anti-

‘I am most absolutely averse to moving the Battle Fleet without a full destroyer screen.’

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe

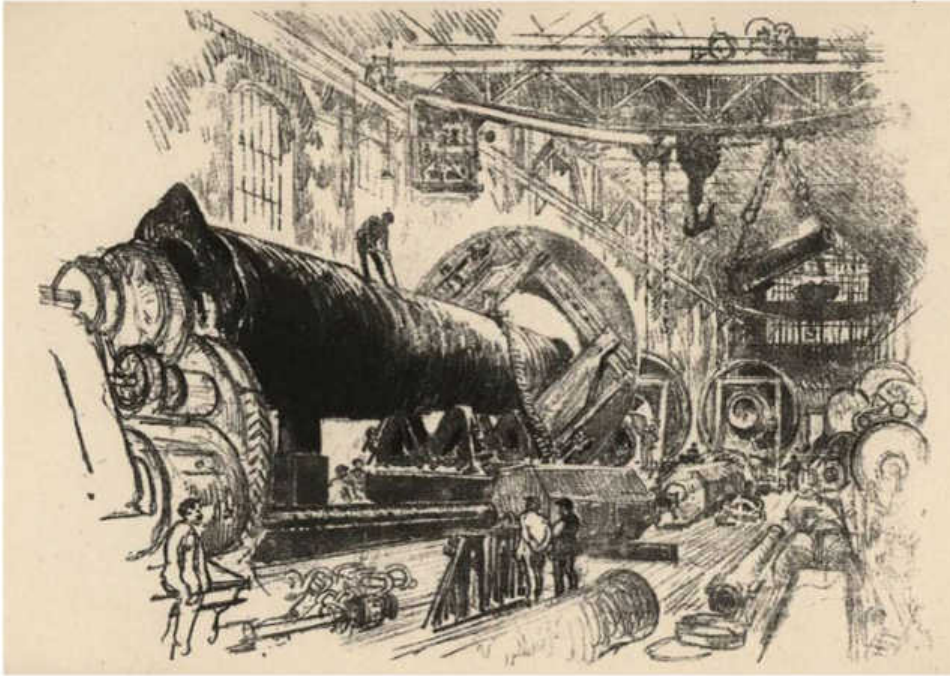
submarine weaponry. These improvements reflected the possibilities for war-making of a modern industrial society.

In October 1916, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, the commander of the British Grand Fleet at Jutland, wrote that the greater size and range of submarines and their increased use of the torpedo, so that they did not need to come to the surface, meant that the submarine menace was getting worse.

Submarines were a major threat to opposing warships. Jellicoe observed in 1915: ‘I am most absolutely averse to moving the Battle Fleet without a full destroyer screen.’

MARITIME SUPREMACY

Submarines were also a strategic challenge, because neither Britain nor France had an industrial system to match that of Germany.



LEFT *Cutting and Turning a Big Gun* by Joseph Pennell.

The Allies were dependent on the United States for machine tools, mass-production plants, and much else, including the parts of shells. American industrial output was equivalent to that of the whole of Europe by 1914, and the British ability to keep the Atlantic sea-lanes open ensured that America made

a key contribution before its formal entry into the war. Transoceanic trade and naval dominance also allowed the British and French to draw on the resources of their empires.

In 1916, however, the Germans focused on a large-scale naval victory, one that was to be achieved by battle (an approach that the

Japanese, though not the Germans, were to try in the next world war).

On several occasions, culminating at the Battle of Jutland of 31 May-1 June, the Germans tried to fall upon part of the British Grand Fleet with their entire High Seas Fleet. The plan failed and, after Jutland, Vice-Admiral Reinhard Scheer was to suggest to Wilhelm II that Germany could win at sea only by means of submarines.

This, though, like much else, had appeared unclear at the end of 1915. At sea as well as on land, therefore, 1916 was to see a number of major attempts to win the war.

That all were to fail was a knowledge denied to contemporaries, and we should be wary of assuming that the results were inevitable. •

Jeremy Black is author of The Great War and the Making of the Modern World (Continuum, 2011).

Images: WPL

NEW TECHNOLOGY: AIRCRAFT

Aircraft became more significant in 1915-1916, notably with the development of aerial reconnaissance as a basis for artillery accuracy. Aircraft also had an operational effect, as when the Turkish columns advancing across the Sinai Peninsula toward the Suez Canal in 1915 were spotted by British aircraft.

The importance of aerial reconnaissance gave rise to attempts to shoot down enemy planes and establish air supremacy over the battle-space, and therefore to air-to-air combat.

The ability of aircraft to fight was enhanced as specifications changed, with increases in aircraft speed, manoeuvrability, and ceiling making it easier to attack other aircraft. Engine power rose, while the rate of climb of aircraft increased.

The development of the fighter led to the interrupter gear – designed to prevent the pilot shooting away his own propeller. Fokker's synchronising gear was utilised by the Germans from April 1915, and then copied by the British and French, showing once again how war accelerated technological development.

The benefit the Germans gained from the Fokker gear enabled them to gain the aerial advantage over Verdun. French vulnerability to German fighters was swiftly demonstrated.

On the eve of the war, there had been no armed aircraft designed to attack other armed aircraft.

The situation was now radically different – though emerging air power did not, as yet, affect the planning of campaigns.

In an abrupt demonstration of the action–reaction cycle that was so significant, the French, seeking what they termed 'air superiority', were eventually able to drive off German reconnaissance aircraft from Verdun because they succeeded in contesting the German Fokker fighters through their employment of large groups of aircraft, and because they now had the agile 'Bébé' Nieuport fighter.

Over Verdun, each side complained about the other's aircraft, and pursued a battle for air superiority with large-scale air-to-air conflict. Neither side had control of the air.

In contrast, during the Battle of the Somme, air power gained real significance. German infantry and artillery complained bitterly about the way the British used aircraft for spotting and ground attack, and about the lack of an effective German response.

Although the British were limited by bad weather, the Germans were impressed during the Somme Offensive by the skill the British brought to co-ordinating the action of artillery, aircraft, and infantry. Because the long arm of the British artillery and aircraft reached well into the German rear, units out of the front-line lacked restorative time.



ABOVE A German Albatross, shown in action over the Western Front.

This caused a real change in how the Germans thought about control of the air. They poured resources into developing their own air power, while also bringing aircraft and anti-aircraft guns under the same corps.

CASE-STUDY

PLANNING VERDUN

David Porter takes the planning for the Battle of Verdun as a case-study in the new intensity of war.



BELOW The battlefield created by modern industrialised warfare: a contemporary aerial photo of Fort Douaumont during the Battle of Verdun. The German High Command planned an artillery-based battle of attrition designed to 'bleed France to death'.

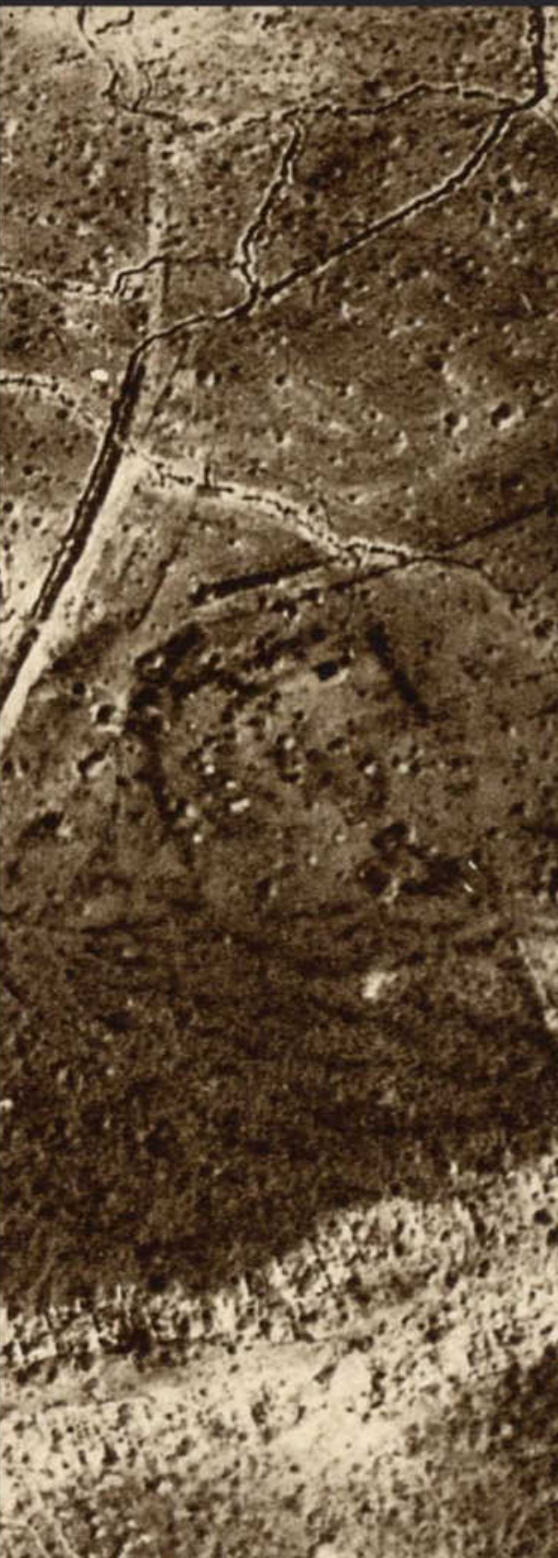


Image: WPL

'Artillery conquers and infantry occupies.' So thought J F C Fuller, wartime officer, interwar major-general, and both a military theorist and a military historian.

By late 1915, the battle maps gave the impression that Germany was in a strong position. Its 1914 offensives had overrun almost the whole of Belgium and a great swathe of northern France, while Anglo-French counter-attacks had been held after making minimal territorial gains. In the East, Russian forces had suffered repeated defeats and had been driven out of Poland.

Deeper analysis, however, indicated that the Allied blockade was slowly strangling the German war economy – imports had already fallen to 45% of their pre-war levels, and exports were 53% of what they had been in 1914.

As well as causing shortages of vital raw materials such as coal and non-ferrous metals, the blockade deprived Germany of supplies of fertiliser vital to agriculture. This latter led to staples such as grain, potatoes, meat, and dairy products becoming so scarce that food riots broke out in some German cities by late 1915.

BREAKING THE STRANGLEHOLD

General Erich von Falkenhayn, Chief of the General Staff, was all too aware that time was not on Germany's side, and that something had to be done to break the deadlock.

He was a cautious commander, who believed that the Western Front was the decisive theatre of war, as the Russians could always withdraw into their enormous hinterland. He was acutely aware that if German forces were drawn deep into Russia, they risked sharing the fate of Napoleon's *Grande Armée* in 1812.

These views had led to repeated clashes with Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the de facto commanders on the Eastern Front, who sensed a chance to knock Russia out of the war. Both became Falkenhayn's bitter enemies, exploiting the prestige gained by their victories in constant attempts to undermine his authority, including making

appeals to the Kaiser to overrule orders with which they disagreed.

By the end of 1915, Falkenhayn was under pressure to produce a decisive victory that would silence his critics. In his Christmas 1915 report to the Kaiser, he wrote:

As I have already insisted, the strain on France has almost reached breaking point – though it is certainly borne with the most remarkable devotion. If we succeeded in opening the eyes of her people to the fact that in a military sense they have nothing more to hope for, that breaking-point would be reached and England's best sword knocked out of her hand...

We can probably do enough for our purposes with limited resources. Within our reach behind the French sector of the Western Front there are objectives for the retention of which the French General Staff would be compelled to throw in every man they have. If they do so, the forces of France will bleed to death – as there can be no question of voluntary withdrawal – whether we reach our goal or not...

The objectives of which I am speaking now are Belfort and Verdun. The considerations urged above apply to both, yet the preference must be given to Verdun. The French lines at that point are barely 12 miles distant from the German railway communications. Verdun is therefore the most powerful point d'appui [base] for an attempt, with a relatively small expenditure of effort, to make the whole German front in France and Belgium untenable. »

'The strain on France has almost reached breaking point.'

Field-Marshal Falkenhayn



HIGHWAYS
RAILROADS
OTTO KURTH '16

'The forces of France will bleed to death.'

Field-Marshal Falkenhayn

ARTILLERY PREPARATIONS

Falkenhayn assigned responsibility for the offensive, dubbed *Unternehmen Gericht* (Operation Judgement), to Crown Prince Wilhelm's Fifth Army, which was heavily reinforced by III Corps, VII Reserve Corps, and XVIII Corps. In addition, V Corps was deployed in the second line, ready to advance in support of the assault divisions, and XV Corps with two divisions formed Fifth Army's Reserve.

As befitted what was primarily intended to be an artillery-based offensive, enormous efforts were made to direct overwhelming firepower against Verdun. Over 1,400 guns and mortars were deployed, including 13 420mm 'Big Berthas', two 380mm 'Max E' railway guns, 17 Austro-Hungarian 305mm siege howitzers, 128 210mm howitzers, 150 medium guns, 266 medium howitzers, 247 field guns, and 600 trench mortars of various calibres.

This gave an average density of one gun or mortar for every 10 metres along the 14km front selected for the attack – the major Allied offensives of 1916 rarely achieved a density of one gun for every 15 metres.

This concentration was achieved at the expense of 'quiet' sectors of the Western Front, which were ruthlessly stripped of modern artillery, receiving obsolescent and captured guns as replacements. Relays of ammunition trains (33 each day) delivered 2,500,000 shells, a significant proportion of which were filled with the newly developed phosgene gas, which could penetrate French gas masks. »

LEFT The battlefield of Verdun. The fortress-city formed a salient in the Western Front, and comprised a 28km-long perimeter around a deep defensive zone with no fewer than 20 major forts and 40 secondary redoubts (*ouvrages*). The solid black line shows the German line at the start of the battle, the broken one the line at the end.



French fortifications were to be engaged by the 'super heavy' howitzers.

ARTILLERY PLANNING

These vast ammunition stocks were intended to be fired in a series of brief, intense barrages – even the preparatory bombardment was to last no more than eight hours before the assault troops launched probing attacks to assess the damage inflicted and identify new targets for the artillery.

Control of the artillery was centralised by an 'Order for the Activities of the Artillery and Mortars', which stipulated that local target selection was the responsibility of each corps, while the co-ordination of fire was directed by Fifth Army HQ.

French fortifications were to be engaged by the 'super heavy' howitzers, while the heavy artillery was to concentrate on long-range bombardments of French supply lines and assembly areas. Counter-battery fire was reserved for designated batteries, primarily firing gas shells.

ABOVE French guns on the move during the Battle of Verdun.

Co-operation between artillery and infantry was stressed, with artillery observer teams advancing with every attack to direct fire against stubborn strong-points. Harassing fire was to be maintained each night to prevent the garrison repairing their defences.

The sophistication of this fire plan was in marked contrast to the clumsy six-day British bombardment before the Battle of the Somme.

Despite the care devoted to German planning, however, security was poor – the offensive was widely discussed with little attention paid to the 'need to know' principle. Dutch military intelligence picked up its essentials, and passed them on to the Allies. But the report was believed to be a 'plant', and was disregarded.



devastating artillery barrages. These 'attacks with limited objectives' would maintain constant pressure on the French.

The initial objectives were the Meuse Heights, on a line from Froideterre to Fort Souville and Fort Tavannes – these would provide a secure defensive position from which to repel French counter-attacks.

The Fifth Army planning staff emphasised the need to maintain constant pressure on the defenders, and created dangerous ambiguity about the true aim of the offensive. Falkenhayn's objective was to capture terrain from which his artillery could dominate the battlefield and destroy the French army as an effective combat force, but Fifth Army hankered after an assault to seize Verdun. The confusion caused by the ambiguity was never satisfactorily resolved.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE HILL

Falkenhayn's choice of Verdun as the focus of the German offensive was shrewd. The city had great symbolic significance – it was the site of the treaty of AD 843 which had divided Charlemagne's empire between his three grandsons, creating the states that were to evolve into France and Germany. Verdun was also the last French fortress-city to be captured by the Prussian army during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871.

Its defences had been modernised in 1874-1884 under the direction of an able engineer, General Séré de Rivières, as a key part of a programme to rebuild the French frontier fortifications after the loss of Alsace and Lorraine to the new German Empire in 1871.

Séré de Rivières supervised the construction of the Région Fortifiée de Verdun (RFV), which included a total of 20 forts and 40 *ouvrages* (redoubts) around the city, the vast majority of which were sited on the right bank of the River Meuse. The forts and *ouvrages* were carefully sited for mutual support, and the outer ring had a circumference of 45km (28 miles).

The outer forts had 79 turret-mounted guns and more than 200 light guns and machine-guns for close-range defence against infantry assaults. Six forts had 155mm guns in retractable turrets, and 14 had retractable twin 75mm turrets. In total, the RFV had almost 1,000 guns of all calibres, with a further 250 in reserve.

The defences were linked by telephone and telegraph, together with a dedicated »

BELOW An exceptionally rare close-up photograph of a German infantry assault in progress during the Battle of Verdun. The weapons of the 'new intensity' are clearly depicted: the assault troops are using a flamethrower and hurling volleys of grenades.

ASSAULT OR ATTRITION?

Falkenhayn was adamant that the true objective of the offensive was the destruction of the French army rather than the capture of Verdun. This was never fully accepted within Fifth Army – both Crown Prince Wilhelm and his Chief of Staff, Generalleutnant Constantin Schmidt von Knobelsdorf, had major reservations about the entire concept.

This lack of conviction was reflected in orders issued to the assault troops, which emphasised the necessity for constant attacks to prevent the defenders building new fall-back positions and 'reorganising their shattered resistance'.

In theory, the French front-line was to be occupied on the first day of the offensive, and their main defence-line reconnoitred in preparation for a further artillery bombardment on the second day. Great emphasis was placed on minimising German infantry casualties, primarily by making assaults only after



Sedan in 1870 had deeply scarred the French military psyche.

attempted to inspect Fort Douaumont in January 1916, he was refused entry.

By the time of the German attack, the French garrison totalled roughly 200,000 men with about 250 operational guns. They faced the Crown Prince's 1,000,000 men and 1,400 guns. The downgrading of the RFV had thus left it highly vulnerable, especially given that it lay in a dangerously exposed salient, formed during the German offensives of 1914. Road and rail links to the French rear areas were tenuous: the railway line from the south into Verdun had been cut during the Battle of Flirey in 1914, with the loss of Saint-Mihiel; while the line west from Verdun to Paris was cut at Aubréville in mid-July 1915.

Nonetheless, the French survived the onslaught. Falkenhayn's concept had been to 'bleed France white', but the battle was to end with almost equal losses on both sides. Although estimates vary, it seems likely that German casualties totalled 373,882, while the French lost 373,231. •

BELOW In 1914, the French infantry had worn bright red and blue uniforms with kepis on their heads. The defenders of Verdun in 1916 wore pastel blue (soon coated in mud) and new steel 'Adrian' helmets.

Image: Alamy

ABOVE A German soldier at Verdun, amid the detritus of the attritional battlefield. The picture seems posed, but the setting is real enough.

road network and a narrow-gauge railway. On mobilisation, the RFV was intended to form an exceptionally powerful position garrisoned by 66,000 men, accommodated in the forts and a network of infantry bunkers with ammunition and supplies for six months.

THE NEW GERMAN THREAT

However, the German army's swift capture of the great fortresses protecting Liège, Namur, and Antwerp in 1914 had led French military planners to radically rethink the utility of such fortifications.

Still attached to the doctrine of the all-out offensive that dominated French planning at the outbreak of war, they convinced the C-in-C, General Joffre, that the RFV was as vulnerable to German siege artillery as the Belgian forts. They also raised the spectre of the fate of Sedan in 1870, where Napoleon III's last field army had been bottled up and forced to surrender – a disaster that had deeply scarred the French military psyche.

Hence, on 5 August 1915, Joffre issued a General Staff directive under which the RFV was to be stripped of 54 artillery batteries and 128,000 rounds of ammunition. The forts and batteries around Verdun were left with 250 guns and a small reserve of ammunition, while their garrisons had been reduced to maintenance crews. By the end of 1915, 237 guns and 647 tons (657,000kg) of ammunition in the forts of the RFV had been removed, leaving only the guns in the retractable gun turrets, these being too difficult to remove.

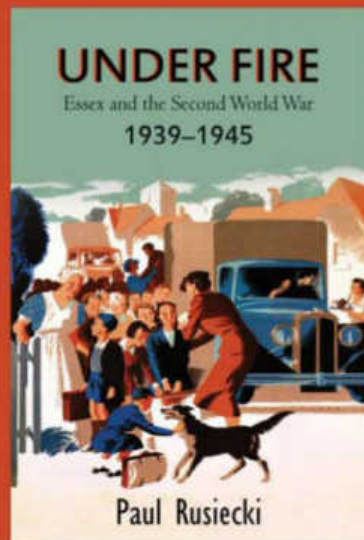
Work began to convert the RFV into a conventional defence line, with trenches and barbed-wire, but progress was slow, especially after resources were diverted to the Second Battle of Champagne (25 September-6 November 1915). In October 1915 construction of trenches began, and in January 1916 an inspection by General Castelnau, Chief of Staff at French General Headquarters, reported that the new defences were satisfactory, except for small deficiencies.

However, the fort maintenance personnel were under the command of the city's military governor and not the field army, and when the XXX Corps commander, General Chrétien,



Image: WPL

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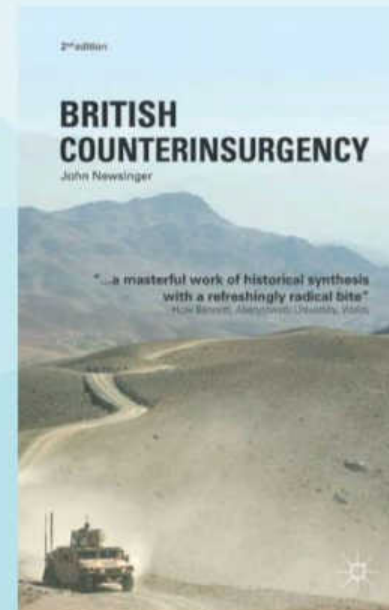
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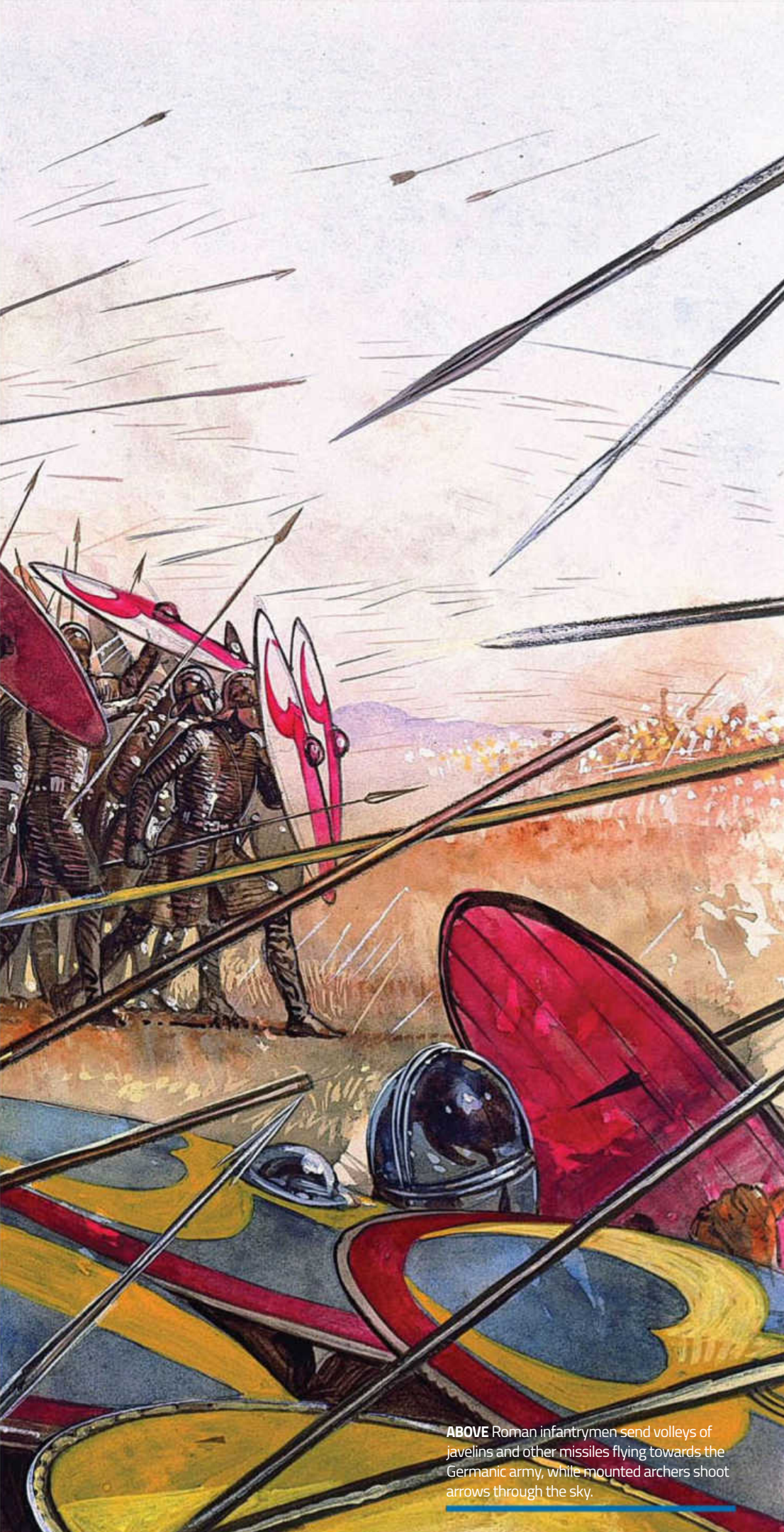
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Fortuna's darling

THE EMPEROR JULIAN
AND THE BATTLE OF STRASBOURG

AUGUST AD 357





ABOVE Roman infantrymen send volleys of javelins and other missiles flying towards the Germanic army, while mounted archers shoot arrows through the sky.

Marc DeSantis recalls the meteoric career of the last great pagan emperor, Julian the Apostate, the victor in a savagely fought battle against German tribesmen in the Rhineland.

Few figures in ancient history are as fascinating – or as contentious – as the Emperor Julian (AD 361-363). Although raised as a Christian, Julian turned away from the religion of his youth, in favour of the old pagan beliefs. Because of this, he was known to centuries of later Christian historians as ‘the Apostate’.

Julian’s brief but explosive reign shook the Roman world. His life represents one of the greatest ‘what-ifs’ of Western history. If Julian had succeeded in turning the Roman Empire away from the Christian faith, all subsequent European history would have been radically different.

Julian was a highly literate and educated man. He was also a warrior, and he fought several important and successful campaigns against the barbarians who assailed Rome’s frontiers in the mid 4th century AD. His victory over the Germanic Alemanni at Argentoratum, the modern city of Strasbourg, in AD 357 was one of the signature victories of Roman arms over the barbarians, and can be taken as proof that the Army of the Later Empire was neither feeble nor decadent.

YOUTH

Much of what we know of Julian’s wars comes from the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus, an officer and historian of Greek ancestry from the city of Antioch. Ammianus was a great admirer of Julian, seeing him as the restorer of the Golden Age of Rome, for the historian shared the Emperor’s pagan beliefs.

At some point in his youth, Julian had become a secret devotee of Rome’s ancestral gods, his paganism stimulated as much by his intellectual interest in philosophy as by spiritual longing. But the young man concealed his devotion to the old ways, and outwardly lived the life of a faithful Christian.

Born in AD 331, he was the nephew of the first Christian Emperor, or Augustus, Constantine the Great. His early years were spent in his uncle’s new foundation, New Rome, known to history as Constantinople.

The young Julian’s life was irrevocably altered on the Emperor’s death in May AD 337. Although Constantine had crafted a settlement of imperial power that seemed to

give a portion of it to each potential claimant – his own three sons, his half-brother Julius Constantius, and his two young nephews, Gallus and the six-year-old Julian – soon after his death this arrangement fell apart.

The Army, the true source of political authority in Rome for centuries, declared solely for the three sons of Constantine: Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans. On 9 September AD 337, the sons of Constantine were duly elevated to the rank of Augustus. Constantine II inherited Gaul; Constantius II took control of the East, including an ongoing war with Persia; and Constans was ensconced in Rome.

CIVIL WAR

Events soon took an ugly turn. Civil war broke out between Constantine and Constans, and when the former was defeated and killed, the latter amalgamated his brother's territories with his own (AD 340).

Ten years later, in AD 350, Constans in turn was overthrown, by Magnentius, one of his own senior commanders. But the Balkans revolted against the usurper, and declared allegiance to the surviving son of Constantine, Constantius, who promptly invaded from the East, defeated Magnentius, and reunited the Empire under his own sole authority (AD 353).

Finally, Constantius II had two of his own leading subordinates arrested and executed, one in AD 354, the second in AD 355. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the last of the sons of Constantine emerged from almost two decades of intermittent civil war with a well-deserved reputation for paranoia and ruthlessness.

These events had a profound effect on Julian. He held his cousin Constantius II responsible for the murder of his father, Julius Constantius, who had been killed in the purge of AD 337. He had survived himself only because his youth (as previously mentioned, Julian was six at the time) made him seem innocuous. It seems likely that Julian's Christian faith was shattered by the family blood-feud.

DIVISION OF EMPIRE

In time, the young Julian was plucked from the relative obscurity of his university studies to play a role in imperial politics.

The great size of the Roman state was a major strategic problem in the 4th century AD. The Army had great difficulty defending the frontiers of the Empire. Of all the Roman provinces, only Britain, Spain, and Africa were spared major incursions at this time. War raged repeatedly on the Rhine, on the eastern frontier with Persia, and

BELOW Marble statue of Emperor Julian the Apostate (AD 361–363).



OPPOSITE PAGE Map showing the extent of the Roman Empire and barbarian territory in the 4th century AD.

above all along the Danube River. Roman armies were constantly at work, either on guard for attacks, or engaged in counter-offensives against invaders.

Compounding the problem of defence was the emergence in the previous century of larger, more formidable opponents. The moribund Parthian Empire had been taken over by the more dynamic and aggressive Sassanids in the East. In Europe, Germanic tribes grouped themselves into larger confederations, such as the Franks, the Alemanni, and the Saxons.

The size of the Empire made it next to impossible to withdraw troops from one portion of the frontier to meet an attack on another: it took too long to move armies, and it left stretches of frontier relatively denuded of troops. Instead, emperors were forever on the move, rushing here and there, quenching one fire only to have to turn immediately to deal with another.

In consequence, during the 3rd century AD, the practice had evolved of dividing the Empire between two or more emperors, and this had been systematised by the Emperor Diocletian (AD 284–305), who had ruled as one of a college of four emperors known as the Tetrarchy.

In a new crisis of empire, despite the legacy of bloodshed and suspicion between the cousins, Julian was seized on by the beleaguered Constantius as co-ruler.

JULIAN THE CAESAR

Constantius, preoccupied with the defence of the East against the Sassanids, needed a colleague to guard the Rhine frontier, and came to depend heavily on his cousin. Julian was made Caesar (junior emperor) with responsibility for Gaul and Germany in AD 355. His mission was to restore the damage after deep and devastating barbarian raids, and then to take the offensive in order to break the power of the Germanic 'rogue state' of the Alemanni.

In the winter of AD 355/356, Julian set out for his new domain. By this time, several Gallic towns were in barbarian hands, including the strategic city of Colonia Agrippinensis (modern Cologne), which had fallen to the Franks, a tribe of Germans living along the northern Rhine.

Julian spent the winter at Vienna (Vienne) in southern Gaul. Although he had little military training, he applied himself to learning how to be a soldier and a commander.

He read Julius Caesar's account of his campaigns in Gaul, and underwent the basic-training rigours of the Roman Imperial Army. As much as anything,

Julian needed to demonstrate to the hardy Rhineland soldiers that he was fit to lead them, that he was not some effete intellectual from the Greek East.



Julian's soldiers were quite unlike those whom Julius Caesar had commanded centuries before. The 5,000-strong legions of the Early Empire were a thing of the past, their component parts having been redistributed across the breadth of the Empire as successive emergencies had required.

The Roman Army was now divided into two basic parts: the *limitanei*, or border troops, tasked with defence of the frontier; and the *comitatenses*, the men of the central field-armies.

The field armies formed a military elite and contained a high proportion of cavalry. They remained in close proximity to the Emperor, and had the mobility to move to areas under attack quickly. This was of great benefit in the dark years of the Late Empire, when crisis after crisis broke across the Roman world.

The source of recruits had changed as well. There were relatively few Italians in the Army. Most soldiers now originated in the provinces, or were barbarians from beyond the frontier. Some of Rome's best units had even adopted barbarian war-cries.

Most soldiers now originated in the provinces, or were barbarians from beyond the frontier.

THE FIRST YEAR

The first campaigning season (AD 356) passed without a decisive battle, and Julian withdrew his army into winter quarters, his guard down. From their spies, however, the Alemanni were aware that Julian was quartering in Sens with a relatively small force. The need to leave garrisons in the towns of Gaul and Germany retaken in the recent campaign had diminished his army.

A barbarian horde attacked the city, putting Sens under siege. Julian's force was so small that he dared not launch sallies to counter-attack. All he could do was wait and hope for relief from another Roman officer, named Marcellus, who was stationed with his own troops nearby.

Julian's hopes were disappointed. The siege of the city continued for some 30 days without relief. Finally, the Alemanni grew tired of the standoff and wandered away.

Why had Marcellus not come to Julian's defence? Some have tried to read into Marcellus's inaction a plot on the part of Constantius against his nephew, but the real



Image: Roger-Vollet/Topfoto

reason is likely to have been Marcellus's jealousy of Julian and his not inconsiderable success in the field.

Though he was deeply suspicious of dissent and any potential rival, if Constantius had wanted to be rid of Julian, he could have found a more effective and direct means of achieving this. In fact, Marcellus was relieved of command for his laxity.

After spending the winter at Sens, Julian moved rapidly to Remi (Rheims) at the beginning of the following year. Marcellus's replacement, Severus, was, happily, a fine officer.

THE STRASBOURG CAMPAIGN

The Roman plan for AD 357 was to catch the Alemanni between two armies: one under the command of Julian, the other – 25,000 strong

– coming from Augusta Raurica, under a newly promoted (and less than competent) officer named Barbatio.

In the midst of this operation, a group of barbarians from the Alemannic confederation erupted in a campaign of plunder and passed between the Roman forces to launch a surprise attack on the city of Lugdunum (Lyons), one of the greatest cities in Gaul.

The city gates were barred, however, and the Alemanni contented themselves with despoiling the surrounding countryside. Julian reacted quickly to the news, sending three elite troops of cavalry to keep watch on the routes leading away from the city. The barbarians trying to escape along these roads were cut to pieces by the waiting Romans, and their stolen booty recovered.

LEFT An idealised depiction of the Alemanni besieging Julian in Sens. Julian was outnumbered and barbarians surrounded the city for a month before growing tired and giving up.

In the area assigned to Barbatio, though, the situation was far different. Barbatio was lax in his watch on the territory he controlled. Numerous barbarians managed to slip past his army, and even succeeded in destroying the boat-bridge under construction to allow Julian's troops passage across the Rhine.

Barbatio's incompetence ensured his own demise. His army was overwhelmed, routed, and pursued all the way to Augusta Raurica, and the Germans made off with the better part of the baggage-train. The chastened Barbatio then went into winter quarters, and was of no help to Julian thereafter.

This rout did little to enhance the prestige of Roman arms in the minds of the Alemannic leaders on the far side of the Rhine. The Alemannic kings Chnodomar and Vestrulp, along with the chieftains Urius, Ursicinus, Serapio, Suomar, and Hortar, mustered all of their warriors and moved on the city of Argentoratum (Strasbourg).

Seven Alemannic tribes were gathered together for this war. The tribesmen were confident. The Romans appeared to be in retreat. Julian's army was a mere 13,000 strong. Success seemed imminent.

PREPARING FOR BATTLE

The Roman leader resolved to lead his men out to meet the Alemanni in open battle. His army came upon them near the town of Argentoratum. It was the middle of an August day, and his men were tired from their march. Julian, however, employed the rhetorical trick of rousing his men to action by urging them to caution.

'Comrades,' he said,

I will explain as briefly as possible that it is regard for our common safety and not any loss of heart which prompts me, your Caesar, to beg you, confident though you are in your stout and tried valour, to choose the path of caution rather than haste... I propose that we set a watch and rest here, where we are protected by a rampart and ditch. Then, at first light, after an adequate allowance of sleep and food, let us, God willing, advance our eagles to triumph and our standards to victory.

Julian's soldiers would have none of it. A standard-bearer in the ranks raised his voice:



Follow, Caesar, the guidance of your lucky star. You are Fortuna's darling, and in you we see that valour and judgment are at last combined. Give us a lead, like the lucky and brave warrior that you are. With Heaven's blessing, you shall see what your men can do under the eye of a warlike general who is inseparable from them, when their blood is up.

The soldiers banged their spears against their shields in a sign of approval. All thought of waiting was thrust aside. The Romans advanced and came to a hill not far from the Rhine. Atop the hill the Alemanni had stationed three mounted scouts, who soon departed with the news that the Romans had arrived. Another scout was captured by the Romans, and he informed them that the barbarian army had been crossing the river for the past three days.

Before them the Romans soon saw the full host of the Alemanni gathered in dense wedges. Julian resolved to attack. He raced along the line of his army, within range of the Alemannic archers, shouting encouragement to his soldiers.

Now, comrades, the moment to fight has come, the moment which you and I have longed for, the moment to which you clamoured to be brought just now, when you impatiently called for battle. Up, my heroes! Our courage shall dispel the disgrace inflicted on our cause.

On the other side of the field were the great lords of the Alemanni. Chief among them was King Chnodomar. The Germanic

ABOVE This late 3rd-century relief panel from the Great Ludovisi Sarcophagus depicts a battle between Roman soldiers and Germanic warriors.

king, a flame-coloured plume on his helmet, rode among his men on the Alemannic left, where he thought the battle would be fiercest.

Chnodomar was a brave and hardy warrior, full of dash, and of enormous size. He had

The Romans soon saw the full host of the Alemanni gathered in dense wedges.

every reason to expect a victory. His army outnumbered that of his Roman enemy nearly three to one.

Ammianus tells us that Chnodomar was always the first in any dangerous undertaking, and his successes against Roman troops and in the sacking of Roman towns had inflated his already considerable pride. The erstwhile retreat of Barbatio's force, superior in strength and numbers, had enhanced his belief in his own invincibility.

BATTLE IS JOINED

All at once, the Alemannic warriors began to shout that their commanders should dismount and fight beside them on foot. The barbarian infantry feared that, should the day go badly for them, their leaders would escape by horse and leave them to the mercy of the Romans.

Chnodomar, hearing the pleas of the warriors, at once leapt from his horse, followed by the other Alemannic commanders. Who among them could doubt that the day would be theirs?

One of the other Alemannic leaders that day was Serapio, who placed a number of his own warriors in wait in broken ground on the Alemannic right, hoping to take the Romans by surprise.

Opposite them, however, was the experienced Severus. As he advanced towards the barbarians, his men caught sight of the Alemanni waiting in ambush. Severus held his troops back, and thereby nullified the German trap.

Soon thereafter the battle began, and volleys of javelins and other missiles flew through the air. The Alemanni charged forwards impetuously, waving their weapons above their heads, their long hair flowing behind them as they did so.

The Romans responded with stubborn defiance. The Alemanni slashed and stabbed at the Romans' heads, but Julian's men blocked the enemy's blows with their shields. The struggle was ferocious, the advantage swaying back and forth. The press was thick, shield against shield, as the Alemanni tried to push the Roman line backwards. »»



THE ROMAN PANIC

Suddenly, the Roman cavalry on the right wing broke and retreated in confusion. As was common in fast-moving cavalry warfare, an unexpected reverse had triggered a panic. A Roman cavalry commander had been slightly injured while reforming his men's ranks, and this had led to flight. The retreat might have turned into a rout had the Roman infantry not blocked the cavalry's further retreat by holding their ground.

Julian witnessed the incident, and rode to intercept the retreating cavalry. He was recognised by the purple *draconarius*, or dragon windsock, that was his emblem. Julian said to the troopers,

Where are we off to, my brave fellows? Don't you know that flight never saved anyone? Let us return to our comrades, and at least have a share in their glory, even though we have thoughtlessly abandoned them in their fight for their country.

Abashed, the Roman cavalrymen reformed their ranks and returned to the battle.

In the meantime, the Alemanni, having brushed off the Roman cavalry on the right,

ABOVE This fresco, from the synagogue in the Roman fortified city of Dura-Europos, dates from the middle of the 3rd century, and depicts late Roman cavalrymen charging with lances.

Abashed, the Roman cavalrymen reformed their ranks and returned to the battle.

had renewed their attack on the Roman infantry in the centre. But the Roman infantry had stood firm, and the issue remained undecided.

The elite units of Roman infantry, the Cornuti and the Bracchiati, yelled a fierce war-cry at the peak of the fighting. Begun with a low noise, it rose and rose until it was like a towering wave that crashed against the shore.

Javelins were hurled by both sides into the press. Dust rose about the struggle, and obscured the fighting men from view. The Alemanni were all in a rage, and tried to shatter the interlocked Roman shields with their swords.

THE INFANTRY STRUGGLE

At this point, two more Roman infantry units, the veteran Batavi and Reges, hurried into the fray. Trumpets blared.

The Alemanni responded with the courage of the possessed, and strove to destroy whichever Roman they could reach. Javelins hurtled through the air. Wood chips torn from shields burst upwards. Ammianus says the contest was an even match of barbarian

size and physique against Roman courage and training. Even wounded men rose to fight again in the frenzy of the *mêlée*.

At this moment, the Alemannic nobility launched its ferocious assault. With their elite retainers about them, the kings and chieftains smashed into the Roman line, pushed it back, and then broke through.

The battle hung in the balance. In front of the Alemanni, in the centre of the Roman position, stood the crack Primani, in close formation. The Primani counter-charged, and began to exact a terrible toll on the barbarians.

But the Alemanni kept coming, fresh men filling the places of those that the Romans slew – until even their wild ardour for battle was dulled by the cries of the dying all around them.

The battle lust of the Alemanni deserted them, and now it was the turn of the barbarians to run. The Romans hacked at the backs of the fleeing Germans. When their swords became bent and useless, the Romans picked up weapons discarded by their enemies and fought with those instead.

With their escape from the field blocked by piles of corpses, some of the barbarians tried to swim the Rhine. Julian saw that disaster might ensue if his overeager men waded in after them, and issued orders forbidding such pursuit. The soldiers obeyed, and contented themselves with hurling missiles. Many of the Germans drowned in the river.

On the Roman left, Severus had managed to disperse the Germans opposite him, and the entire Alemannic line buckled and broke.

THE CAPTURE OF CHNODOMAR

The Alemannic King Chnodomar, so certain of victory earlier that day, seeing that all was lost, attempted to make his own escape. He picked his way through the piles of the slain with a handful of men, and hurried back to his own camp.

Thinking that he would cross the Rhine, he made his way to the riverbank. But his horse slipped in the soft ground, and Chnodomar was thrown. He hid himself on a nearby hill, but was recognised there – his fame made it impossible for him to conceal his identity. Roman troops soon surrounded the hill, and cautiously waited out the King.



Once surrounded, Chnodomar gave himself up, along with some 200 followers. Ammianus tells with grim satisfaction that the King was as submissive in defeat as he was the opposite in success, and was dragged off, pale and dismayed, a far-cry from the warrior who had wrought such destruction in Gaul.

The battle was ended, and the Romans returned to camp for food and rest. Ammianus places Alemannic losses at some 6,000, not including those cut down or drowned while trying to escape. Roman losses were a mere 243 soldiers and four officers, a probable underestimate, but an indication at least of the disproportion and the scale of the victory. »

ABOVE Although outnumbered, the Romans overcame the Alemanni. Falling from his horse as he crossed the Rhine, King Chnodomar was soon captured, and suffered a humiliating blow to his pride.

Image: alig-images



ABOVE Julian fought and won numerous battles against the barbarians. Having been raised to the post of Caesar by Constantius, he was elevated to the rank of Augustus by his own soldiers.

JULIAN THE AUGUSTUS

In the wake of this splendid victory, Julian was hailed by his troops as Augustus. This was a dangerous step, implying a direct challenge to Constantius. Julian was quick to quell such talk, saying under oath that he wanted nothing of the sort.

He sent Chnodomar off to his uncle, Constantius, and soon busied himself with further campaigns against the barbarians on both sides of the Rhine. The young orphan prince, so steeped in books in his early years, had won a resounding and improbable military victory.

Four years later, in AD 361, Julian was again proclaimed senior emperor by his soldiers. This time he accepted the acclamation as Augustus, and broke with Constantius, the man who had murdered his father.

Constantius died on the way to confront the usurper, and Julian became the sole Augustus of the entire Empire. In his short time as Emperor – a mere two years – Julian tried to place paganism back on an equal footing with the Christian faith that he had abjured.

His mission was, perhaps, quixotic. Ancient paganism was an eclectic affair, and Julian's attempt to combat the far more centralised and highly organised Christian Church was almost certainly doomed from the start. In the event, the project died with the Emperor when – the goddess Fortuna having deserted him – he was killed in battle against the Persians in AD 363. •

Marc DeSantis is an historian and attorney who has written extensively on military history subjects for MHQ, Ancient Warfare, Military History Monthly, History of War, and Military Heritage. His first book, Rome Seizes the Trident, a naval history of the Punic Wars, is due out later this year from Pen & Sword.

Ammianus Marcellinus's account of Julian's career and the Battle of Strasbourg is available in the Penguin Classics series, under the title The Later Roman Empire (AD 354-378).

Image: World History Archive/Alamy

The press was thick, shield against shield, as the Alemanni tried to push the Roman line backwards.

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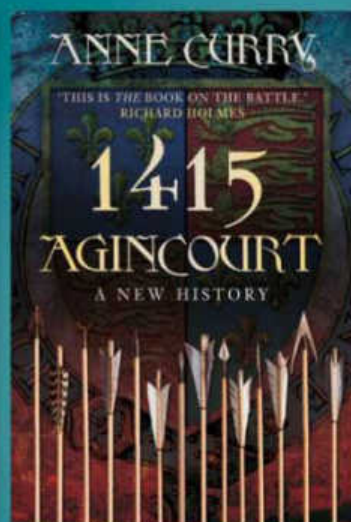
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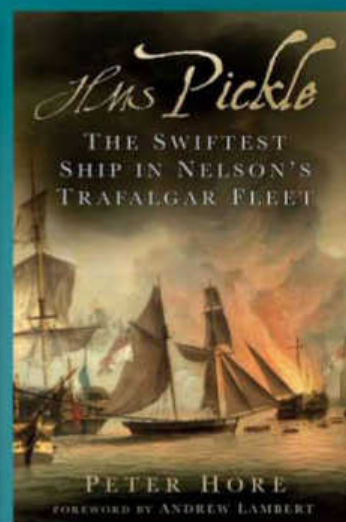
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Ballistic bombardment

HOW THE V-2 TERRORISED EUROPE

It is just over 70 years since the first use of long-range ballistic missiles in war. **Dave Sloggett** reviews Hitler's V-2 campaign in the light of later history.

On 23 June 2014, high over the Pacific Ocean, out of sight of anything but a watching radar sensor, an interceptor fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California notionally hit a simulated ballistic missile on course to land in the United States of America.

Commenting on the results of the intercept, the Pentagon noted that it would be some time before all of the telemetry data collected during the engagement could be processed and analysed, but that it was content that, in this simulation, the incoming threat had been neutralised. It was the 65th time out of a total of 81 real and simulated flights that such an outcome had occurred.

Intercepting a ballistic missile in flight at the point it re-enters the atmosphere is far from easy. The approaching speeds of the interceptor and the incoming warhead can reach three kilometres per second.

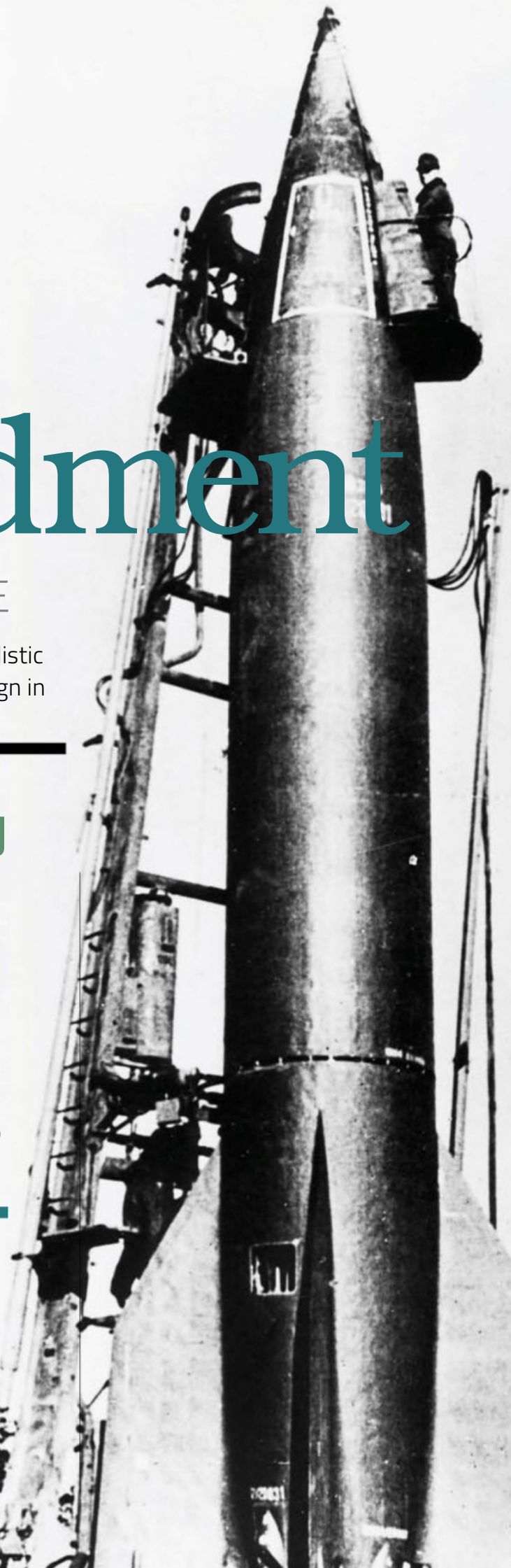
The warhead is also such a small target that hitting it is quite difficult. The interceptor has to retain the ability to manoeuvre right up until the last moment, making subtle course trajectory changes, guided to the point of impact by ground-based radars and on-board sensors.

GULF WARS

For the United States, this work is a priority, as it sees an existential threat from countries

The approaching speeds of the interceptor and the incoming warhead can reach three kilometres per second.

RIGHT A V-2 rocket ready for launch. The Nazis pioneered long-range rocket technology. Just as Britain had been the first target of strategic aerial bombing (in the First World War), so now, in 1944-1945, it became the first target of a strategic rocket bombardment.



RIGHT A contemporary cutaway diagram showing the technology of the V-2 rocket.

such as Iran and North Korea, with the terrifying possibility that intercontinental ballistic missiles might arrive nuclear-armed. The problem with ballistic missiles is that, once they are launched, interceptors are the only kind of defence that exists.

A reminder of the difficulties of stopping attacks by ballistic missiles came in the course of the Iran–Iraq War. Iraq fired 189 Scud missiles on Iran. The Iranians retaliated with 77 similar ballistic missiles based on a North Korean variant called the Hwasong-5. The Iraqi attacks were focused on Tehran, and caused a quarter of the population flee the city.

In the First Gulf War, when the Iraqis tried to bombard Israel, the Americans quickly moved Patriot missile batteries into Israel to try to counter the threat.

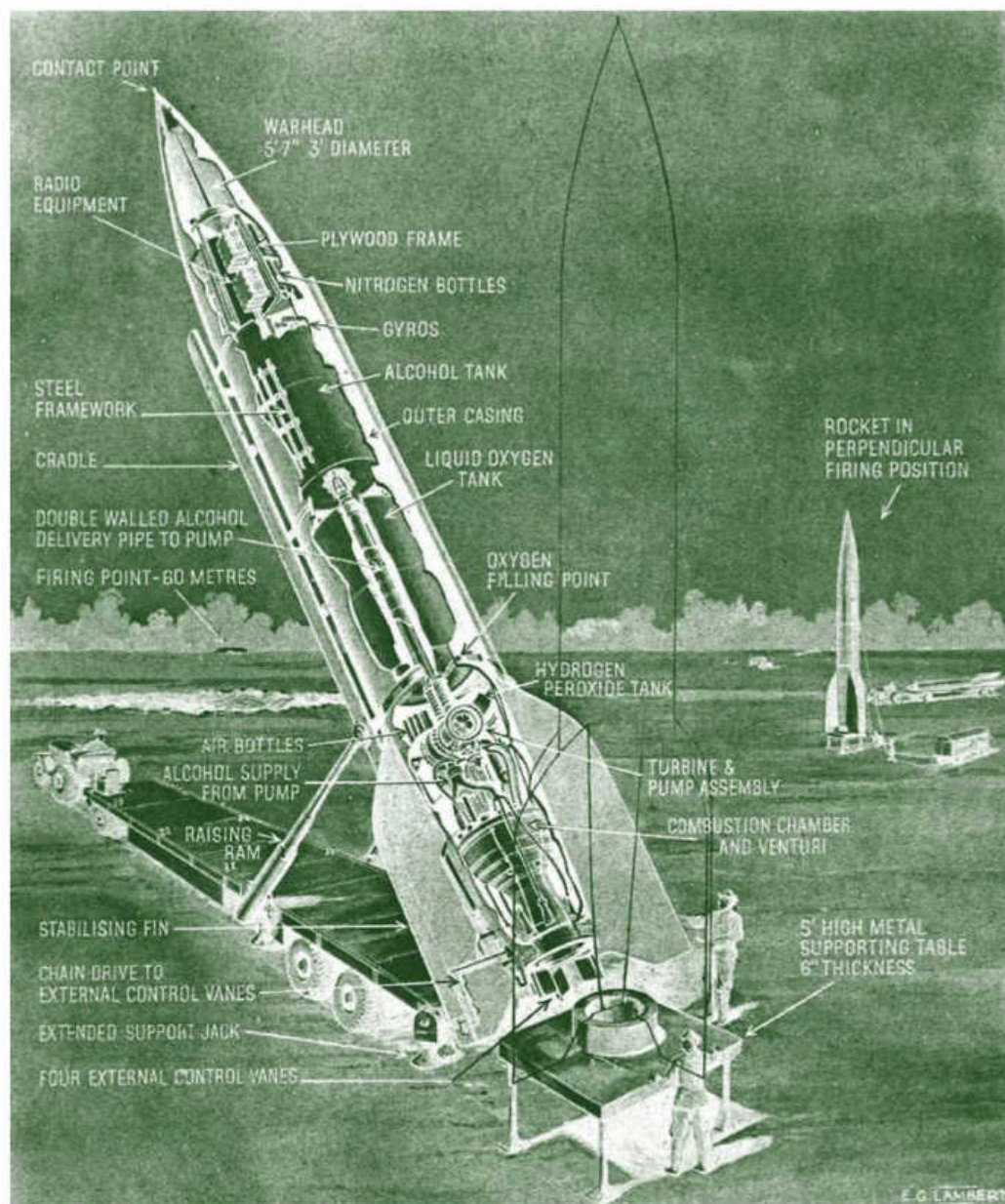
Back then, the technology still had its rough edges. On one night, a total of 37 Patriots were launched at seven inbound Scud ballistic missiles fired from within the desert in Iraq. False targets had been created by the break-up of missiles on re-entry.

To counter the threat from the Scuds, other measures were also taken. The Special Air Services and their American counterparts were deployed into Iraq to try to stop the launches by attacking them at source. Combat air-patrols were also mounted by United States Air Force F-15 Eagles to intercept the mobile firing-platforms once their position had been compromised after a launch.

Yet despite all of this effort, some Scud missiles did manage to get through to their targets, one killing 28 American servicemen in a field hospital in Darharn.

HITLER'S SECRET WEAPON

Imagine, then, the problems faced by the British government and people when Adolf Hitler unleashed the world's first rocket campaign. The V-2 ballistic missile was targeted on London and the south-east of England from



September 1944 – at the very moment when the V-1 threat seemed to be passing.

So concerned were the authorities by the arrival of the V-2 missiles over London (with literally no warning) that the initial series of attacks were dismissed by government officials as explosions in gas mains. That charade could be maintained only for a short period, as some missiles landed and failed to explode.

After a month of obfuscation, Prime Minister Winston Churchill had to go public on Wednesday 10 November and announce that 'Britain is under attack by a secret long-range German weapon'.

At this point, nearly 100 had already landed in London and the Home Counties. Churchill insisted that the news of this development had been suppressed for reasons of operational security. They did not want to give the Nazis a propaganda coup as the tide of war in Europe seemed to be turning inexorably against Berlin.

TECHNICAL HITCHES

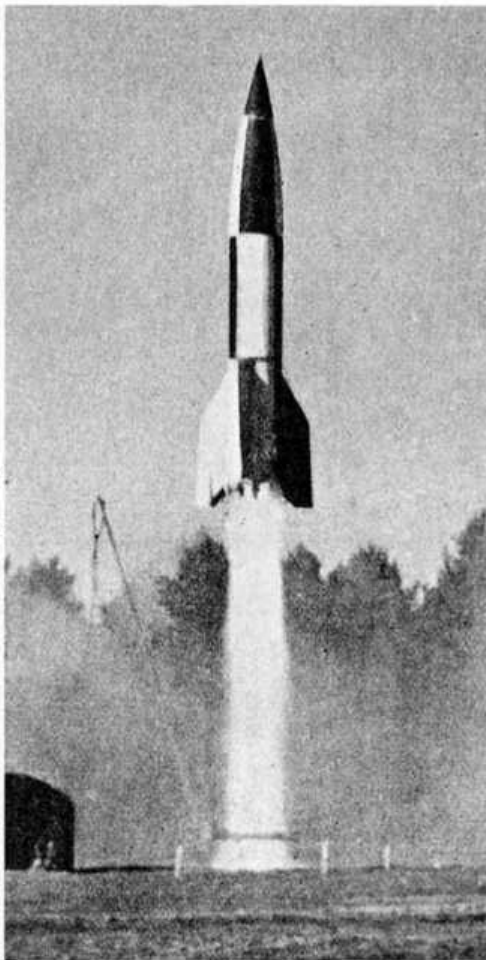
By order of the Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler, the V-2 attacks on London were to commence on 5 September 1944. However, due to operational difficulties the initial attacks had been delayed. Hitler had ordered that the first rockets should be targeted on Paris.

On Wednesday 6 September, two V-2s were loaded with fuel and prepared to fire. The first, fired by Battery 444 from a location at Euskirchen, failed to lift off, its engines cutting out before it left the launch platform. The very same result occurred with the second launch 40 minutes later.

After the fault with the rocket was corrected, both rockets were fired again at Paris a day later. Only one reached its destination, five minutes after launch, exploding in the Paris suburb of Maisons-Alfort. The rocket killed six people. It had travelled at a speed of 3,500 miles per hour and reached a maximum altitude of 328,000 feet (62 miles). »

BALLISTIC MISSILES

Image: WPL



ABOVE Launching a V-2. A long-range ballistic missile, the V-2 was launched upwards into the atmosphere, and would reach a maximum height of 62 miles.

The first two of an eventual total of 517 V-2 missiles to hit the British capital landed in London on 8 September 1944 at 18.43 in the evening. The first landed in Chiswick, killing three people and seriously injuring another seven. The second landed in Epping Forest, and caused slight damage to two cottages.

These were the opening salvos in an attack that was to last from September 1944 to March 1945. In that time 1,115 V-2 rockets in all were fired at England. The vast majority landed in an area bounded by a line from Hertford to Chelmsford in the north and a similar imaginary line from Guildford to Maidstone in the south. The western limit of the attacks lay on the outskirts of London at Brentford.

'NO ORDINARY BOMB'

A London-based diarist called Edward Carter noted the first V-2 attack in his entry on 9 September 1945. 'So now what?' he wrote. 'Last evening at about 18.45 two large explosions heard, but apparently some way off, though they shook doors and windows.'

RIGHT The first V-2 attack on London landed at 18.43 on 8 September in Chiswick. There was no warning. The authorities had no effective response. Their first reaction was to lie and claim that gas explosions were to blame.



'Britain is under attack by a secret long-range German weapon.'

Winston Churchill



Passers-by were reported to have been physically lifted into the air and thrown large distances.

On visiting the scene, he found a crater 8 feet deep and 20 feet in diameter. From what he observed at the site, this was 'no ordinary bomb'.

Days later, on 12 September, he wrote 'more of the mysterious missiles have fallen'. On this day, four V-2s had arrived over London from

LEFT A V-2 missile: at 12 metres long, it mirrored the quarter-wavelength of the British radar system, creating a huge radar signature.



Image: WPL

their launch sites in the Netherlands, the first coming in over Kew Gardens at 06.15. These followed attacks that had struck Fambridge near Southend at 21.30 on 10 September, and two that had arrived in relatively quick succession at 09.07 and 09.30 at Lullingstone and Magdalen Laver a day later.

All these were part of an initial wave of attacks on London and the south-east that saw 36 V-2s land in an area from Norwich to Willington near Eastbourne. The missiles arrived without any warning and at all times of the day, bar a brief respite period between midnight and the early hours of the morning around dawn.

The initial wave of V-2 attacks were hampered, however, by Operation Market Garden. Although its main aim was to forge a pathway over the Rhine into Germany's industrial heartland of the Ruhr – in which it failed – it did have an effect on the rocket sites in the Netherlands.

Worried that they might be overrun, the launch-control teams operating on Walcheren Island in the mouth of the Scheldt Estuary were hastily withdrawn. From 19 to 24 September, as Operation Market Garden reached its peak, there were no V-2 attacks mounted.

They resumed on 25 September, as General Montgomery's attempt to end the war at a stroke came to its inglorious end. On that day, a single V-2 landed at Hoxne in the middle of Suffolk at 19.10. The next day, another lone V-2 landed at Ranworth in Norfolk.

RISING TEMPO

In October, the V-2 campaign increased its operational tempo with 95 missiles reaching various targets across the south-east of England. The worst day was 26 October, when eight missiles in total landed, the first at 08.10 at Walthamstow, the last at 22.50 at Ilford. Such was the momentum of the cam-

paign that throughout October only three days were wholly free from attacks.

November 1944 saw a further increase in activity, as 154 V-2s landed in south-east England; again, only three days in the month were free from attacks. The 21 and 24 November were the busiest days, with seven V-2 attacks each.

In this period, too, several V-2 attacks were recorded in the very early hours of the morning. At Penshurst in East Sussex, on 5 October, a V-2 had landed at 01.30 hours. On 15 November, Southgate in north London was attacked at 02.06.

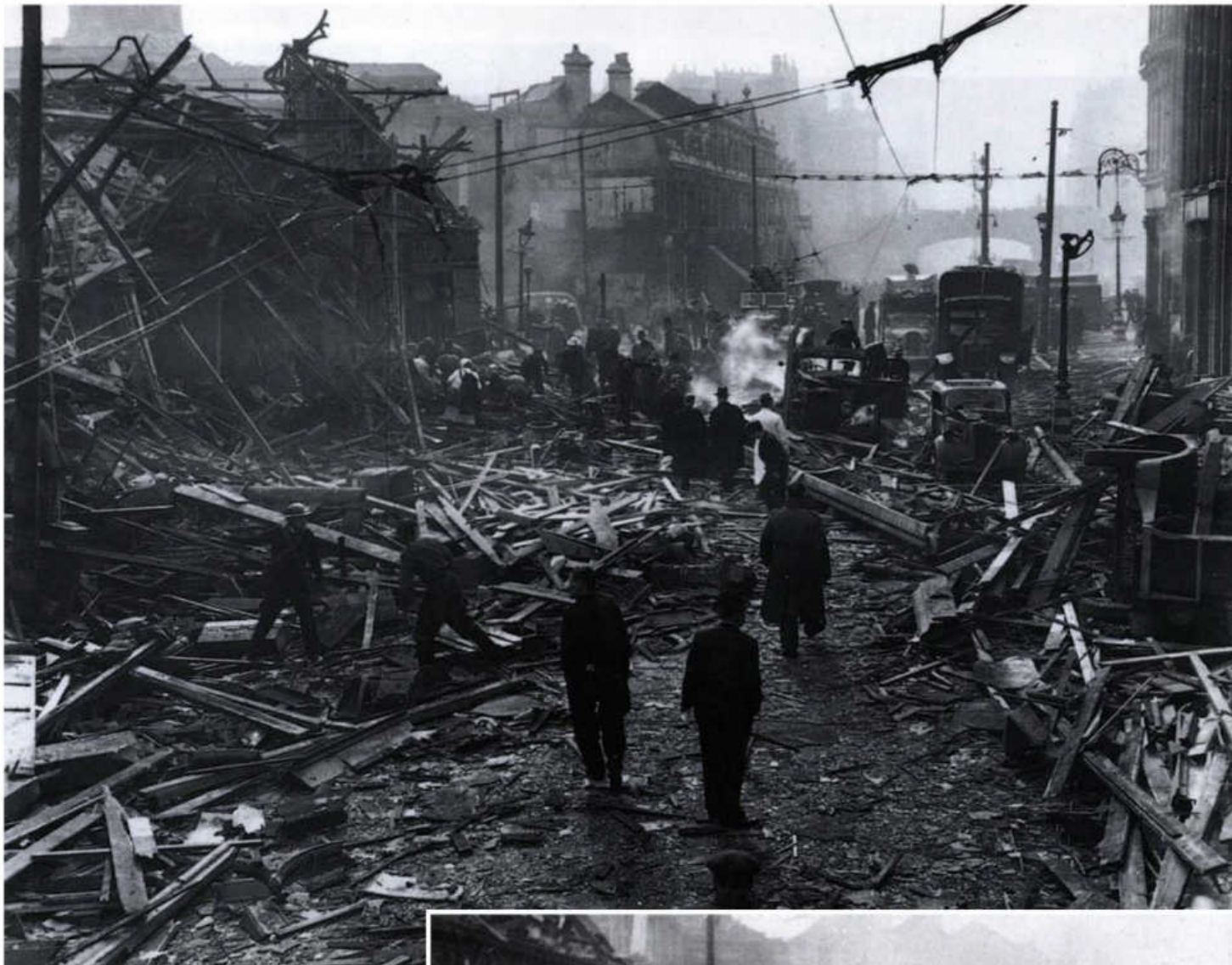
November was also the time of the worst death toll in a single V-2 attack. It was at New Cross Road in Deptford in London: 168 people died in a single rocket detonation. This was the 251st launch of a V-2. The explosion occurred at 12.26 at the rear of a major department store full of women and children. The force of the explosion was so great that the building simply collapsed. Passers-by were reported to have been physically lifted into the air and thrown large distances.

EARLY WARNINGS

By this time, the authorities had begun to set up a very basic alarm system to provide at least a four-minute warning of an attack. This was the forerunner of the so-called 'ten-minute' warning of the Cold War era – the notice that the main radar system at Fylingdales in Yorkshire was supposed to be able to give of a massed ballistic-missile attack on Western Europe.

In the Second World War, the radar systems were quite primitive. But it so happened that the size of the V-2 mirrored almost precisely the quarter-wavelength of the radar system – around 12 metres. This meant it had a huge radar signature that was easy to detect once the V-2 had crossed the radar horizon.

The radar stations in Bawdsey and High Street, both located in Suffolk; Great Bromley »



ABOVE The aftermath of a V-2 attack on Farringdon Street in London.

in Essex; and Dunkirk and Swingate at Dover in Kent were often able to see the V-2 climbing out a few moments after its launch and issue an initial warning.

The poor azimuth discrimination of the beams of the radar antennae prevented them providing a detailed track, so the authorities were unable to warn a specific area that it was about to come under attack. The best that was possible was a general warning that an incoming missile was heading for Greater London to an accuracy of two minutes.

COUNTER-STRIKE

Once the plots from the radars had been analysed (albeit with built-in inaccuracies), fighter bombers were directed to attack the (approximate) launch locations. Like the Iraqis in the First Gulf War, the launch teams learnt to 'shoot-and-scoot' before the counter-airstrike was able to locate them.



ABOVE Rescue teams at work after the Farringdon Street explosion.

The fact that the V-2 had been made a mobile missile – instead of, as originally intended, being silo-based – gave it some flexibility. Perhaps in the Nazi high command there was some recognition that, if the V-2 ever came to be used, it would be when the end of the war was nigh, and fixed-weapon systems would be vulnerable.

In December 1944, a total of 134 V-2 missiles were launched. The worst day was 1 December, when 11 missiles landed in places such as Enfield, Walthamstow, Muswell Hill, and Hornchurch.

There were no firings on Christmas Day, but on Boxing Day attacks resumed, and 68 people died when a V-2 hit a public house in Islington.

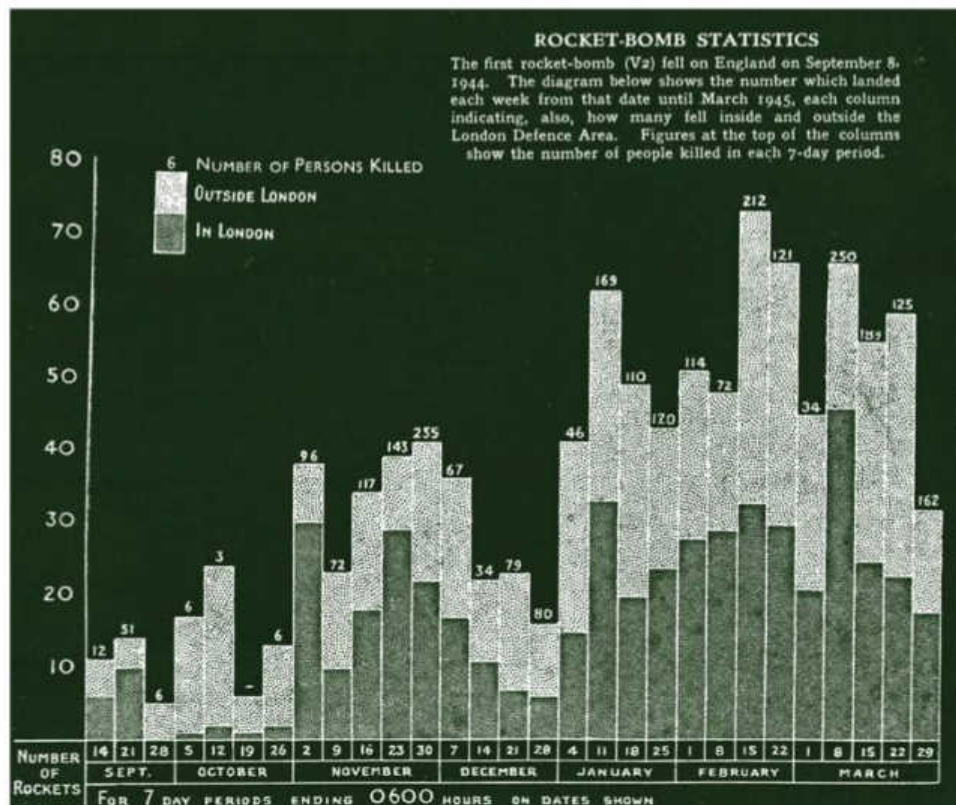
January 1945 saw another increase in the rate of attacks, with 222 in all. February, with 241 attacks, represented the peak. In March, the total was slightly down at 226.

Before the war ended, Antwerp also came under sustained bombardment by V-2s: it was the main port through which the Allies where routing supplies.

As the war came to its close, the Nazis had two V-2 missiles left to fire. They launched these on 27 March 1945. One attacked Antwerp, and killed 27 people. The other arrived over Orpington in Kent, 15 miles from the centre of London. It killed one person. Her name was Mrs Ivy Millichamp (aged 34). She was the last person to die in England as a result of enemy action.

A BBC documentary broadcast in 2011 estimated that over 9,000 people in total had been killed by V-2 rocket attacks across Europe.

LEFT A V-2 on its mobile launcher. The fact that V-2s were mounted on transporters rather than in silos greatly complicated the effort to develop effective counter-measures.

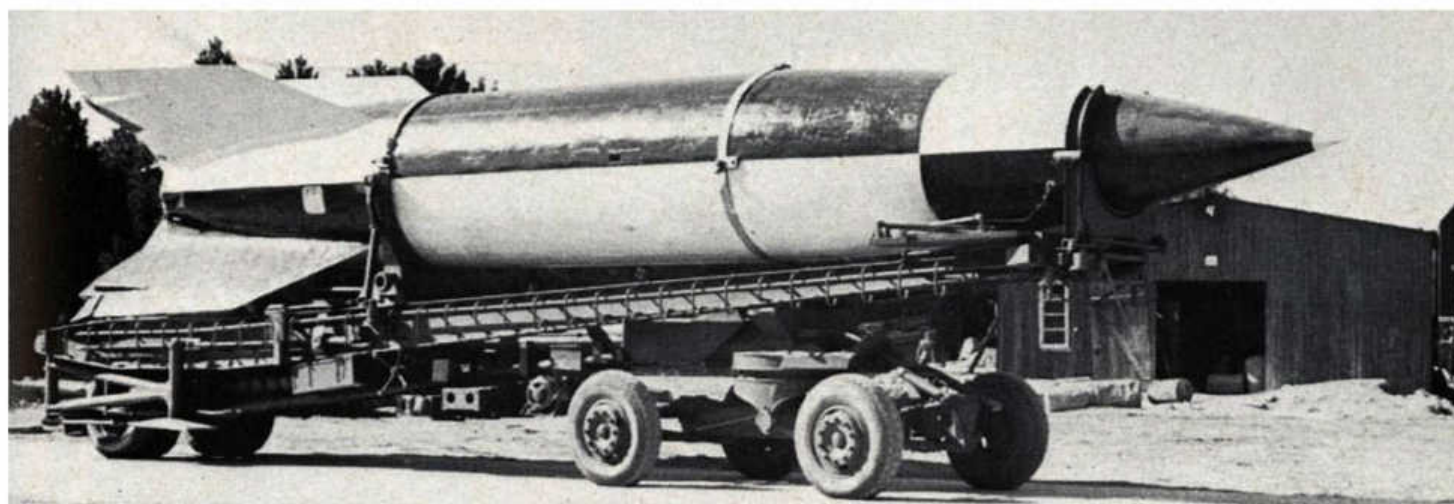


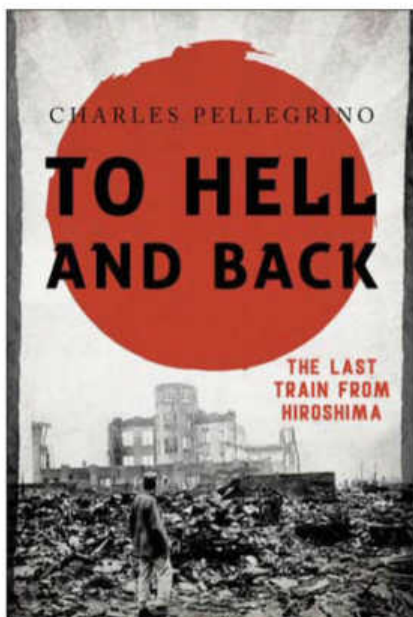
ABOVE Graph showing the incidence and effects of the V-2 campaign between September 1944 and March 1945.

The best that was possible was a general warning that an incoming missile was heading for Greater London.

The story of Nazi rocket science continued. The architect of the V-2 programme, Dr Werner von Braun, was captured by the Allies. He and his team would go on to turn their hands to developing the Saturn Rocket that was to first take man to the Moon in 1969. •

Dave Sloggett has over 40 years' experience in the military intelligence arena, and he is a regular lecturer to NATO and allied command groups on contemporary and historical aspects of warfare. Bob Ogley's Doodlebugs and Rockets: the battle of the flying bombs was used in writing this article and can be recommended for further reading.





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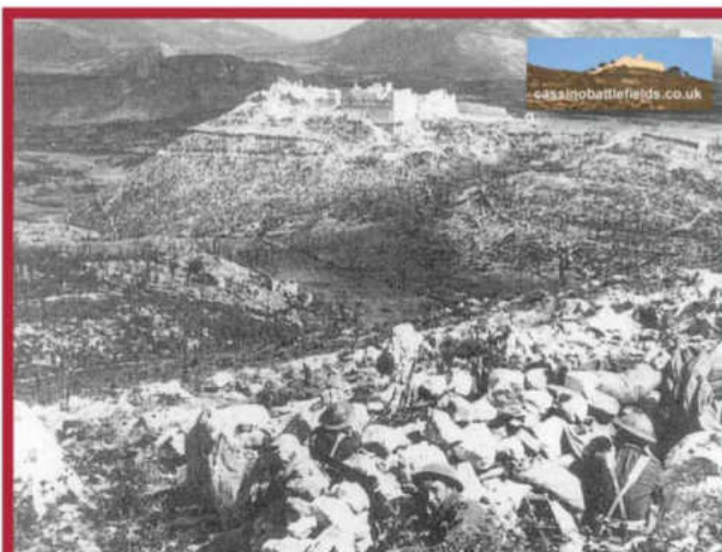


Photo above: Men of 1st Battalion Royal Sussex Regiment up on Snakeshead Ridge overlooking the bombed Monastery in Feb 44.

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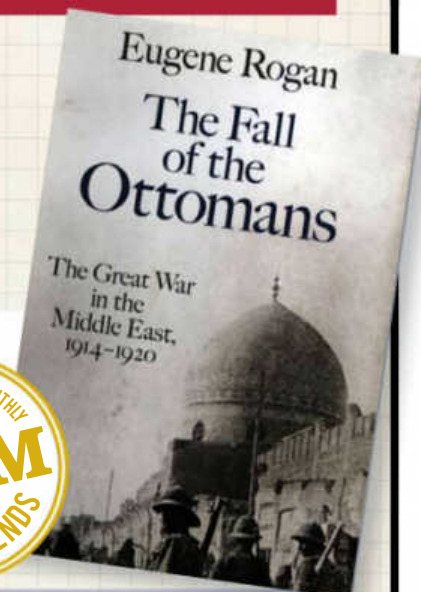
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MHM REVIEWS

60-68

Reckless Fellows by Edward Bujak,
Karl Doenitz and the Last Days of the Third Reich by Barry Turner,
and *Waterways on the Western Front* edited by Celia Halsey. Taylor Downing marks the 75th anniversary of the winter of the Blitz with a review of *Fires Were Started*.

RECOMMENDED
The Fall of the Ottomans: the Great War in the Middle East, 1914-1920
by Eugene Rogan



BOOKS



WAR ON FILM

MHM VISITS

70-73

George Clode visits the German Occupation Museum in Guernsey.

HIGHLIGHT
The Caribbean's Great War display at Museum of London Docklands



MUSEUM

LISTINGS



MHM OFF DUTY

80-82

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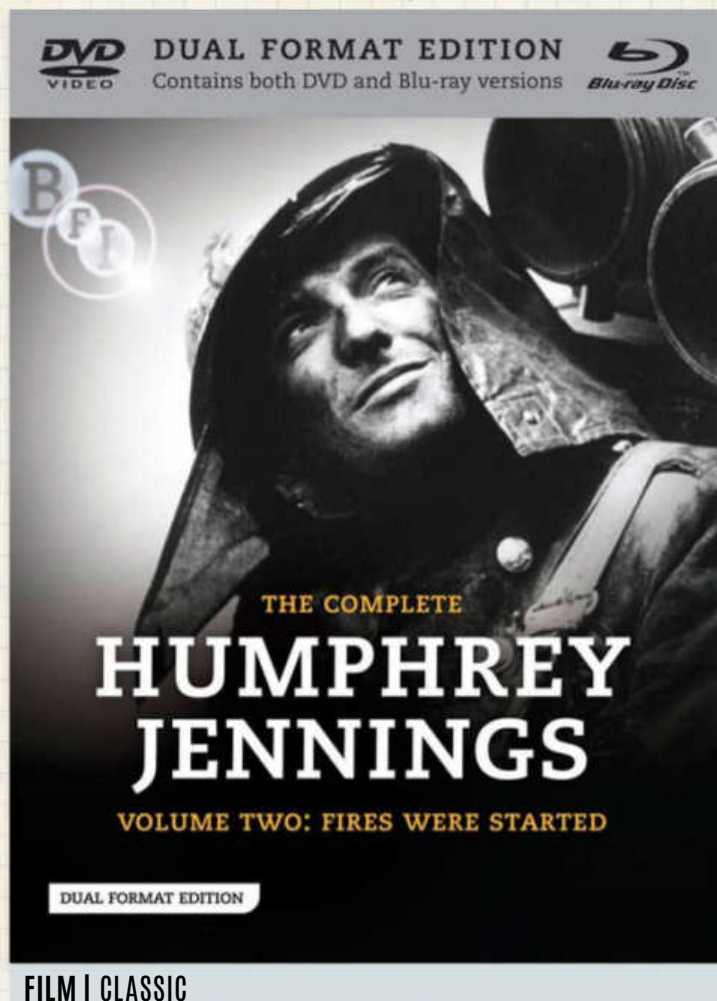
CAPTION COMPETITION



BRIEFING ROOM

WAR ON FILM

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FILM | CLASSIC

FIRES WERE STARTED

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Humphrey Jennings was the poet of the Documentary Film Movement. His films are not about front-line combat or battlefield action, but they brilliantly capture the spirit of the people of Britain at war.

His feature-length documentary *Fires Were Started* (1943), also known as *I Was a Fireman*, is no exception. It records the understated heroism of the men and women of the Auxiliary Fire Service (AFS), battling the Blitz in the winter of 1940/1941, with a humanity and wit that is still as moving as it must have been nearly 75 years ago.

DOCUMENTING WAR

Fires Were Started is not strictly a documentary by today's standards, where there is a strong emphasis on observing reality and against faking scenes. All the film's characters speak lines from a prepared script.

Each of the 'actors' had been carefully cast and, in many ways, the film more closely resembles a feature film than a conventional documentary. But this was the technique favoured by documentary film-makers at the time: film stock was expensive, and the large and cumbersome equipment used for

filming and recording sound had to be carefully prepared and set up.

Little could be left to spontaneous observation. What distinguishes the work of Humphrey Jennings is that he avoids the use of commentary, and the storyline he wants to explore and the mood he wishes to convey emerge through the skill of his montage of sound and image.

Recent film scholars have emphasised the role of Stewart McAllister, his film editor, who without doubt had a great influence on many Jennings films. They had a stormy relationship, and

HUMPHREY JENNINGS

Humphrey Jennings was an unlikely figure to chronicle the mood of Britain during 'the people's war'. He was, in some ways, a typical intellectual: tall, rather tweedy, going through life barely noticing many of the people on whose labour he relied to sustain his own existence.

On the other hand, he was also charming and an extrovert with a great sense of humour. To many, he was an enigma. Some saw him as a dilettante, others as an obsessive perfectionist. He dabbled with surrealism, but produced films in the realist tradition.

He was brought up in an upper-middle-class family in Suffolk and, after Cambridge, looked set for an academic career as a literary scholar, part-time poet, and artist.

Then, in 1935, along with Charles Madge and anthropologist Tom Harrison, he formed Mass-Observation, a group dedicated to chronicling popular reactions to the issues of the day. This took him towards the Documentary Film Movement, and he worked on a series of experimental films for the GPO Film Unit, like *Spare Time* (1939) – a portrait of working-class life and popular culture.

The war offered him a unique opportunity to capture the images and sounds of Britain during conflict, and enabled him to produce his best work. *London Can Take It* (1940), *Words for Battle* (1941), and *Listen to Britain* (1942) were poetic evocations of the enduring British spirit and character, the latter creating a symphony of war out of the sounds of factories, aircraft engines, steam trains, and *Workers' Playtime* on the radio.

At the end of the war, his *Diary for Timothy* (1945) brilliantly questions what kind of world a baby boy, born just before the last Christmas of the war, will grow up into.

Jennings never felt reconciled with the post-war world, and did not recapture the spirit of his wartime films. He died in Greece in 1950, aged 43, when he fell off a ledge while setting up a shot for a film about the European Economic Commission. True to his enigmatic spirit, it was never known if this was suicide or a simple accident.

BELOW Director Humphrey Jennings.





would argue and shout at each other, to the dismay of those around them. But clearly, for both men, this provided the creative tension needed to produce truly great work. And *Fires Were Started* is probably their finest collaboration.

HEROISM

In early 1941, the idea was circulated to make a propaganda film celebrating the heroism of the AFS volunteers who had struggled to cope with the vast fires ignited during the Blitz. Although many members of the Documentary Film Movement disliked Humphrey Jennings for his intellectualism and artiness, Ian Dalrymple, the head of the Crown Film Unit, had immense respect for him, and asked him to direct the prestigious 'fire film'.

Jennings began research for the project in the spring of 1941 and, while still making other films, spent many months visiting fire stations and various district control-rooms in London and Liverpool, observing, noting down dialogue, and preparing a detailed 'treatment' for his film, very much like a conventional feature-film script.

During the course of these reces, Jennings picked out several firemen whom he 'cast' as the central characters in the film. In early 1942, he selected St Katharine Docks as the principal location, and an old school in Wellhouse Square became the setting for the local fire station's Watch Room headquarters.

Filming began in late February 1942, during a gap in the actual Blitz. It went on longer than scheduled, until early July: a sign of Jennings' obsession with getting exactly what he wanted.

The exterior fire scenes were set up in a disused warehouse. But all the detailed work of filming the fire-fighting was done on a set designed at Pinewood Studios by Edward Carrick, who had designed the sets for *Target for Tonight* (1941) (see *MHM* 49). These shots have become the most well-known images of the Blitz, reused in countless films and television documentaries over the decades.

THE BLITZ AND THE FIRE BRIGADE

The first phase of the Blitz began with the bombing of the London docks and the East End on 7 September 1940. From later that month, London was bombed for 76 nights in succession, with only one night's respite. Many other cities were also bombed heavily, including Portsmouth, Bristol, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Coventry.

In 1938, the local fire-brigade structure had been supplemented by the creation of the AFS, for which men and women could volunteer and thus avoid conscription. Around 28,000 volunteers were needed in London to supplement the city's 2,500 regular fire-officers. Although women did not fight fires, they did serve as drivers and in a range of administrative roles.

In the winter of 1940/1941, the AFS firefighters became known as 'the heroes with grimy faces'. Later in 1941, this entire system was swept away and replaced with a National Fire Service, to standardise equipment and procedures.

A total of 327 firefighters were killed in London alone during the war.

REALISM

In order to create a realistic effect, Jennings encouraged his 'actors' to improvise even when scenes were scripted, and he worked his team so hard that the look of total exhaustion on the faces of many in the film was for real.

Editing with Stewart McAllister took place through the autumn of 1942, and also took longer than planned. A version of the film called *I Was* »

There is a full moon that night, so a raid is almost certain, and an ammunition ship is loading in the nearby docks.

a *Fireman* was shown to a sample audience in Preston, Lancashire, in December and, from their reaction, it was decided to trim the film down by a few minutes. The final version, titled *Fires Were Started*, was officially released in April 1943.

The structure of the film is simple. It follows 24 hours in the life of a single Heavy Unit, HU1, which forms a part of 14Y Substation of the AFS in the East End of London.

In the opening scenes, the members of the crew walk through the battered East End streets to assemble for morning duty at their Watch Room, which is a combined dormitory, canteen, and garage for 14Y Section.

'Jacko' Jackson (played by fireman Johnny Houghton) says goodbye to his wife, who now runs their small newspaper shop. 'Don't do nothing silly,' she says as he departs. Johnny (played by leading fireman Fred Griffiths) is shown boxing with his son in their yard before he departs.

Jennings uses the device of having a new fireman, Mike Barrett, join the crew to introduce us to the rest of the team. Barrett (fireman William Sansom) cannot find the Watch Room, and has to ask a passer-by for directions. The suited man he asks is Chinese – a nice touch, and a reminder of the cosmopolitanism of the East End.

We hear that there is to be a full moon that night, so a raid is almost certain, and we are told that there is an ammunition and weapons ship in the nearby docks, loading up with ordnance. It is vital to prevent any fires from spreading to this ship.

During the morning, the crew of HU1 prepare and clean all their equipment. There is much technical talk, and we understand that, the tide being out this evening, the supply of water could become a problem.

It is clear to Barrett and to us, the viewer, that he is joining a crew with a strong sense of camaraderie. One

of the team, the nearest an official film ever comes to recognising the existence of spivs, apparently offers to sell the rest new pairs of braces. As he polishes equipment, he turns to the others and says, 'Slow down, we've got to make this last until one o'clock.' By lunchtime, the fire engine and kit are ready.

CALM BEFORE THE STORM

The crew take a break and rest up in the afternoon, and we see the organisation that manages the fire-defence system. The female telephonists at 14Y report to 14 District Control. And they, in turn, report upwards to Central Control.

The telephonists call down through the network, asking for the number of appliances that are ready and, in brigade headquarters, a call comes through to the Chief Fire Officer from Home Office Intelligence telling him to expect raiders tonight. Back in 14Y, the firemen doze, brew tea, and play snooker or darts. They even each have a pint of mild. It is the lull before the storm.

As the sun goes down and the blackout goes up, the men put on their fire-fighting gear of rubber boots, waterproof leggings, and steel helmets. Music is always an important element in a Jennings film and, in a memorable scene, Barrett takes to the piano, playing the old folk song 'One Man Went to Mow'.

He plays each verse in a different style, to reflect the character of every firefighter as he comes in. It is a brilliant sequence that brings music and humour to the fore. As the music ends, the eerie wail of the air-raid siren starts up. The night's action is about to begin.

Before long, bombs are falling. An Observation Post across the river spots incendiaries on the roof of a warehouse in Trinidad Street. From Control, the crew of HU1 are scrambled, and are soon en route through the spookily empty streets.

Jennings plays with light and darkness very effectively. From now on, as the blackout is total, the principal source of light in the film comes from the fires themselves lighting up faces and equipment in a dramatic glow.

The crew of HU1 arrive in Trinidad Street. Fire-hoses, known as 'branches', are unrolled, and a group of three firemen, led by Sub Officer Dykes (a real Commanding Fire Officer, George Gravett), break into the warehouse and go up to the roof.

But there is a problem with the water supply. By the time the water starts pumping, the fires have spread. As the drama unfolds, it is clear that the fire is getting out of control. Urgent messages are sent back to base. But the raid is a heavy one, and the resources of the London Fire Brigade are fully stretched.

A fire-boat is despatched and, eventually, another unit with a turntable ladder is ordered to Trinidad Street. A District Officer arrives to take charge of a situation that is rapidly getting out of hand. All along, we know that the munitions ship is only a few yards away and, if it goes up, there will be one hell of an explosion.

ENGULFED IN FLAMES

On the warehouse roof, the water runs out. It is necessary to obtain a new supply from a sunken barge in the river. But this takes some time. Barrett is sent up to the roof to tell them. As we approach the climax of the film, the stairway is engulfed in flames and the three men on the roof are cut off. Dykes, moreover, is badly injured.

The turntable ladder arrives, and a fireman is quickly sent up by ladder to get the three men down. In an elaborate procedure, the wounded Dykes is winched down. This involves one man staying on the roof, to operate one end of the winch rope. Jacko insists on doing this, and sends Barrett down the turntable ladder. But the fire is now so severe that the roof collapses,

and Jacko goes down with it, into the furnace below.

It was always part of the idea for the film that one fireman would be lost. This emphasised the sacrifice made by the fire-crews, and the heroism of the men who fought Blitz fires every night.

By the time the sun rises, the fire has been put out. There is not even a scratch on the paint of the munitions ship. A mobile canteen arrives, and some eager female volunteers start distributing tea to the exhausted crews.

As they gather in their hoses, the men look through the rubble. Jacko's damaged helmet is recovered. Meanwhile, Jacko's wife, now his widow, opens up the newspaper shop and listens to news about the raid on the morning radio. BBC reports say 'fires were started across docklands'.

In the final sequence, Jacko is buried and is given a military-style funeral. The HU1 crew carry his coffin. These shots are intercut with the munitions ship departing, cargo intact. The fire-crews have done their work magnificently.

Jennings tells this simple story in a supremely powerful way. Like his other wartime films, the ordinary people of Britain are given an heroic quality.

And it is not just the firemen fighting the blaze, but the whole network. The female telephonists are in the firing-line too and, in one scene, an operator is calling in with her report when a bomb lands nearby and the roof caves in around her. She emerges from the dust, forehead bleeding, but continues to read her report. This was based on an incident Jennings actually witnessed in Liverpool.

Images of England and Englishness are used to remind us of the enduring quality of the values they were fighting for. But none of this is corny or patronising. Jennings was certainly making propaganda, but he also captured the spirit of a democracy at war, fighting with its back to the wall. The Blitz has never been better represented on film than in *Fires Were Started*. •

FIRES WERE STARTED (1943)

A Crown Film Unit production. **Director:** Humphrey Jennings. **Producer:** Ian Dalrymple. **Script:** Humphrey Jennings. **Photography:** C Pennington-Richards. **Editor:** Stewart McAllister. **Starring:** the firemen and -women of London. Available as a BFI DVD.

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BOOK OF THE MONTH

THE FALL OF THE OTTOMANS: THE GREAT WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1914-1920

Eugene Rogan

Allen Lane, £25 (hbk)

ISBN 978-1846144387



The First World War in the Middle East was radically different from that in Europe. It involved a decaying traditional empire which extended from Macedonia to Persia, from Armenia to Yemen.

It embroiled that empire in a life-or-death struggle on diverse and widely separated fronts. Ottoman soldiers might freeze to death on snow-clogged mountain passes or die of thirst under a broiling desert sun, for the empire they defended found itself under attack on the Gallipoli peninsula, in the Caucasus mountains, in Palestine and Arabia, and in Mesopotamia.

Yet, almost always outnumbered, often clothed in rags, often hungry and sick, often short of the most basic supplies, they endured four years of modern industrialised warfare.

It was an extraordinary battle against the odds. The total population of the Ottoman Empire was only 22 million, only half that of Britain, a mere 15% that of Russia. The entire rail network amounted to just 6,000km of track, a tenth that of Germany, which was barely one-fifth the size. It took two months for supplies leaving Constantinople to reach the front in Mesopotamia.

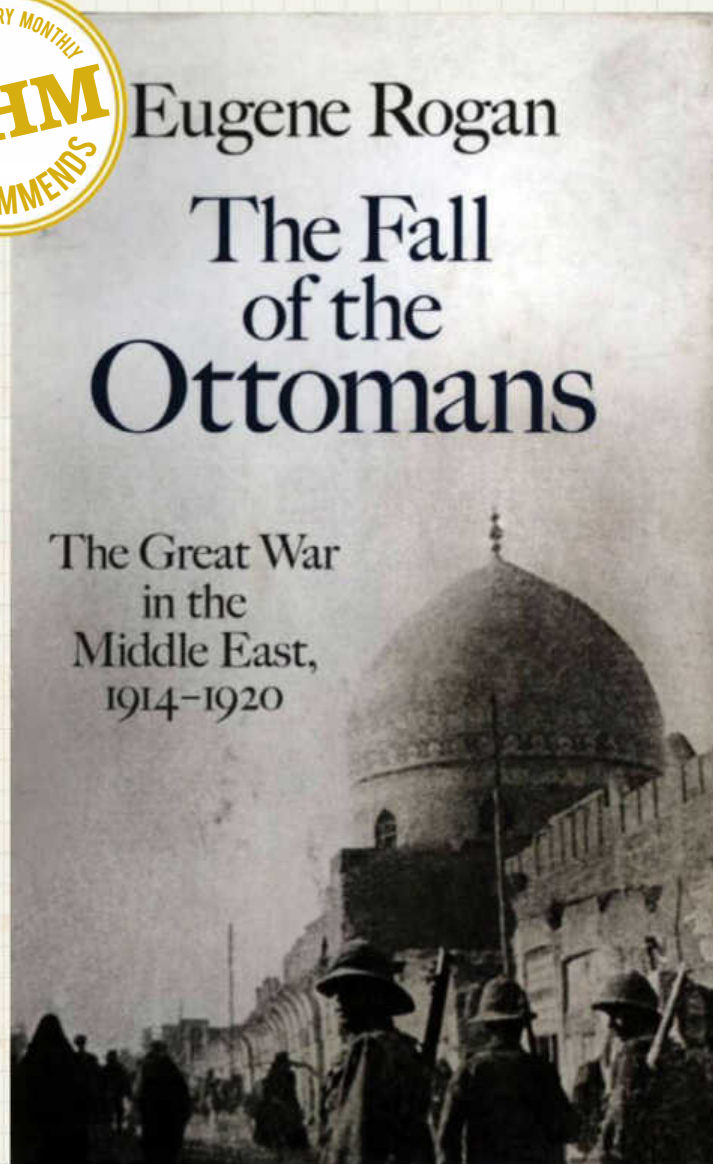
But the Ottoman soldier – ‘Little Mehmet’, as he was known: the Turkish equivalent of ‘Tommy’ – confounded all expectations, and turned the war in the Middle East into a struggle as protracted and gruelling as that on either the Western or Eastern Fronts of Europe.

It was no ‘sideshow’. Indeed, precisely because the Ottoman Empire was so weak, the relative impact of the war on the societies of the region was far greater.

Eugene Rogan is among a group of First World War specialists – many based at Oxford, and part of a group headed by Hew Strachan – who are refocusing attention on the conflict’s ‘forgotten’ fronts and reasserting its global character. In this volume, Rogan, who has accessed Arabic and Turkish primary sources as well as European, offers a brilliant and highly readable synthesis of the entire Middle Eastern war and its immediate aftermath.

CROSS-CURRENTS

Most impressive is Rogan’s weaving together of the many complex cross-currents – German *Islampolitik*,



Ottoman ‘Pan-Turkism’, British and French imperialism, the Armenian question, Arab nationalism, Zionism, and many more. Equally so is his ability to shift focus smoothly from geopolitics and grandstanding at the top to the lived realities on the ground – never more so than when describing the destruction of the Ottoman Third Army in the Caucasian winter of 1914/15, the Armenian Genocide of summer 1915, or the Syrian Famine of 1916.

Thus were whole societies torn apart. Three-quarters of a million soldiers died in the war,

and perhaps as many as four million civilians – as many as 25% of the Ottoman population in total – as local infrastructures collapsed under the impact of conscription and requisitioning. By the end, there were more deserters in the back-areas than soldiers at the front, with the implosion of the Ottoman economic base leading to the collapse of the military supply-chain.

As Rogan explains, the battle had been won before Allenby’s guns opened fire at the beginning of the final offensive in September 1918. The British had 35,000 infantry

Almost always outnumbered, often hungry and sick, Ottoman soldiers endured four years of modern industrialised warfare.

and 9,000 cavalry massed on a 15-mile front. The Ottomans had only 10,000 men facing them. The defenders' lines were shattered by the heaviest bombardment of the war in the Middle East: a thousand shells a minute. When the British and Indian infantry went forwards, the dazed Turks simply retreated or surrendered, and within two and a half hours a hole had been punched right through the Ottoman line, and British, Indian, and Anzac cavalry were pouring through.

CARVE-UP

It is, of course, a book about the present. This is true in two senses. The modern Middle East is an artefact of the First World War. Today's boundaries and nation-states are essentially those created by generals and statesmen between 1916 and 1923.

Much of this reflects the carve-up of the region agreed in closed

conclave by British, French, and Russian diplomats during the war. That Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq should be taken by the British, Lebanon and Syria by the French, reflected the secret protocols of the notorious 'Sykes-Picot Agreement'. That Palestine should be made available as a 'Jewish homeland' was a consequence of the equally notorious 'Balfour Declaration'. The victims were the Arabs: the overwhelming majority of the people of the region.

But not everything went as planned. Turkey was to have been dismembered by the Russians, the French, the Italians, and the Greeks. The post-war partition plans of the Great Powers extended to the whole of the former Ottoman Empire, both the Arabic- and the Turkish-speaking parts of it.

Yet, in one of history's many ironic twists, the Arabs, who had fought on

the winning side, were dispossessed, whereas the Turks, unquestionable losers, freed their country by armed force and created an independent republic under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, the Ottoman hero of Gallipoli.

As the Turkish War of Independence ramped up, Arab nationalist movements in Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and Syria were crushed. 'Using aerial bombardment and heavy artillery,' reports Rogan, 'the British reconquered the Middle Euphrates region with scorched-earth tactics that crushed the resistance.'

Equally lamentable was the fate of the Hashemite leaders of the Arab Revolt. Feisal, having been evicted from Damascus by the French, was installed as client-king of Iraq by his British managers. His brother Abdullah was similarly installed as ruler of Transjordan.

Their father, on the other hand, Hussein of Mecca, who remained true to the ideal of Arab unity and independence, was eventually driven out of his ancestral homeland into exile, as the Hijaz was conquered by another British imperial client, Ibn Saud of Riyadh.

JIHAD

There was further irony in that the post-war Arab rebellions were more nationalist revolts than jihadist insurgencies.

To a large degree, the First World War in the Middle East had been fought in the shadow of possible jihad. The Germans, who ruled over virtually no Muslims at all, hoped to use their Ottoman allies as a Trojan Horse to spread jihadist mayhem across their enemies' colonial empires, for the Russians ruled over 20 million Muslims in Central Asia, the French over another 20 million in North and West Africa, and the British over no fewer than 100 million, the great majority in India and Egypt. All three diverted men and materiel to the region in large part in response to the threat of Holy War.

Rogan's commentary speaks directly to the present:

While colonial Muslims remained largely unresponsive to the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph's appeal, the European imperial powers continued to assume that any major Turkish success or Allied setback might provoke the dreaded Islamic uprising in their colonies in India and North Africa. Ironically, this left the Allies more responsive to the Caliph's call than his Muslim target-audience. Even a century later, the Western world has yet to shake off the belief that Muslims might act in a collectively fanatical manner. As the 'War on Terrorism' after 11 September 2001 has demonstrated, Western policy-makers continue to view jihad in terms reminiscent of the war planners from 1914 to 1918. •

NEIL FAULKNER

MHM Editor

BELOW Ottoman infantry defending a trench during the First World War. The resilience of the Turkish soldier – underfed, poorly supplied, brutally treated, usually outnumbered – was one of the great surprises of the conflict in the Middle East.



The Trenches at Hareira.

BOOKS

THE BEST NEW MILITARY HISTORY TITLES THIS MONTH

RECKLESS FELLOWS

Edward Bujak

I B Tauris & Co Ltd, £20.00 (hbk)

ISBN 978-1784534424

Edward Bujak's book takes us from the origins of Britain's military flying service, those early years of the Royal Flying Corps (RFC), through the expansion of its size and scope of operations, to its unification with the Royal Naval Air Service to form the RAF in 1918. He concentrates on the RFC/RAF during the final two years of the First World War, with a unique focus on the pilots and training squadrons stationed at Harlaxton aerodrome in Lincolnshire.

This is a Boy's Own tale of derring-do and chivalry in the air, played out, as the book's title suggests, by Edwardian gentleman aviators whose backgrounds were largely rooted in the pursuits of the rural gentry: horses and fox-hunting. As such, these men are painted as a band of gallant airborne warriors who saw themselves as a winged aristocracy.

In rooting out and engaging the enemy, these pilots exhibited the same recklessness as Edwardian cavalry officers riding to hounds, hedge-hopping over the farms and fields of rural England in the pre-war years.

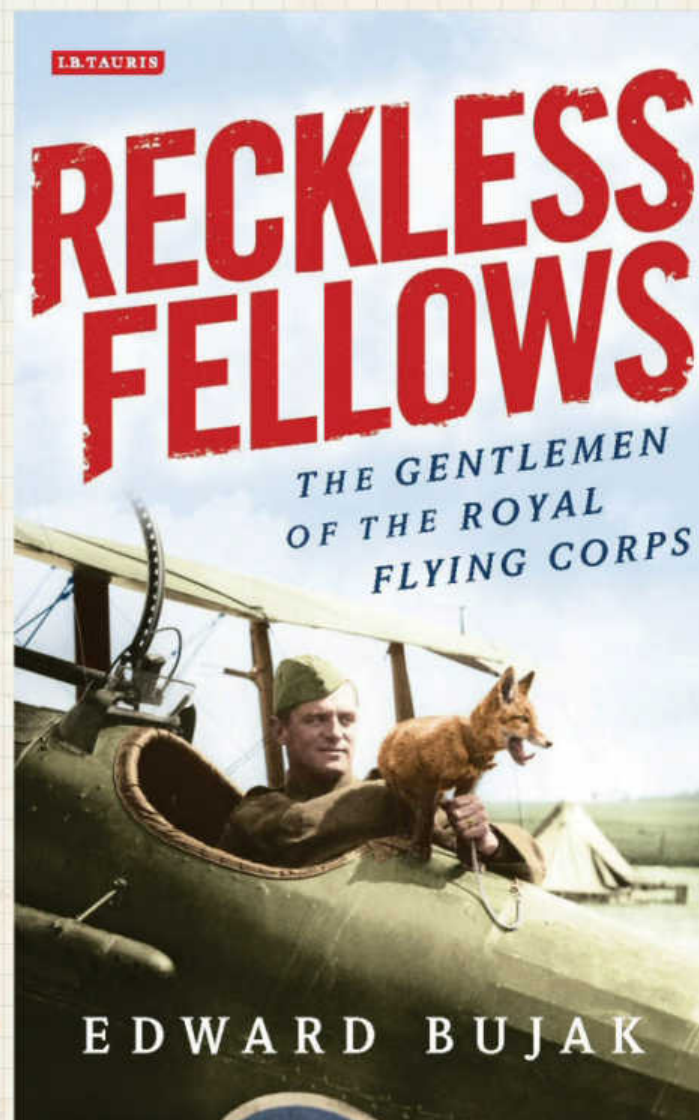
The Harlaxton Manor training aerodrome opened in 1916, four years after the RFC was raised as the air arm of the British Army. The pilots and their aeroplanes had followed the British

Expeditionary Force (BEF) to France in 1914. This was the RFC's debut: aerial reconnaissance was to supersede mounted cavalry patrols in discovering the positions of the Germans dug in on high ground.

These reconnaissance aircraft initially flew unarmed over enemy positions and, of course, it did not take long for the Germans to launch counter-attacks on RFC aeroplanes. Thus was born the new warfare of dogfights and aerial bombing.

The First World War kick-started the race to develop electronic military technology, however crude at the outset, to supplement human eyesight and sheer gutsiness. Wireless transmitters and cameras for photographic reconnaissance joined these 'reckless fellows' in the cockpit, to speed up the delivery and the accuracy of information supplied to artillery and infantry. In due course, what had begun life as a pair of courageous eyes in the sky was transformed into an aerial fighting machine.

As the war progressed, Sir Hugh Trenchard, the General Officer Commanding the RFC, introduced a new role by sending up offensive patrols spearheaded by specialist fighting squadrons. 'This policy', the author explains, 'was an extension



of the RFC's primary objective, in that this relentless and incessant offensive provided a protective screen for the work of the reconnaissance and artillery-spotting machines... The development of the fighting-scout, or 'fighter', added a new dimension to the air war.'

The RFC was an Empire-wide enterprise, with pilots recruited from across Britain's colonial possessions, specifically Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. It was, in fact, the South African soldier-politician Jan Smuts who played an instrumental role in establishing the Flying Corps as independent of the War Office and Admiralty. The end result was the Royal Air Force, incorporated on 1 April 1918.

Aloft in these vulnerable machines, everything rested on pilot skill. Error of judgement during the war years ranked as the major cause of

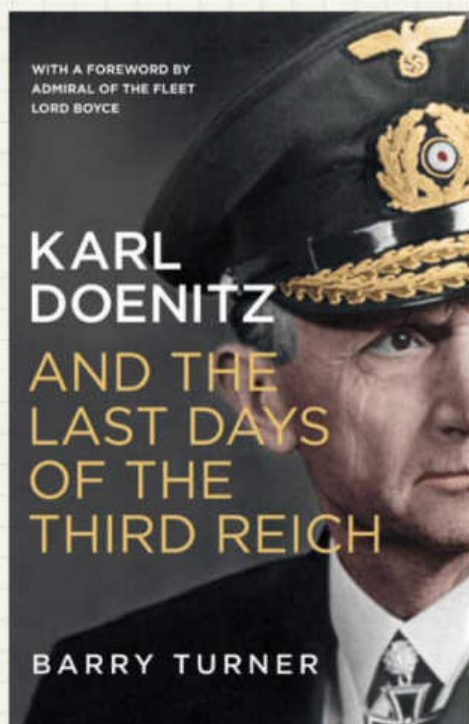
accident, accounting for 42 of the 58 mishaps (usually on take-off or landing) recorded at one station over a six-month period.

The Harlaxton training school brought the new industrialised war to the sleepy English countryside. Automobiles chugged through the village, while aeroplanes roared overhead, rolling, looping, spinning, and slide-slipping their way across the sky, to the wonderment of the villagers, most of whom had little idea of what went on behind the walls of that great Victorian spread.

Bujak provides an original and unusual take on the origins of air war, combining military, social, and cultural history. His meticulous research and readable style open the doors to this fascinating training school, and to the rise of the RAF as the world's leading air force.

JULES STEWART

What had begun life as a pair of courageous eyes in the sky was transformed into an aerial fighting machine.



KARL DOENITZ AND THE LAST DAYS OF THE THIRD REICH

Barry Turner

Icon Books, £20 (hbk)

ISBN 978-1848319226

Hitler committed suicide on 30 April 1945, and the war in Europe came to an end on 9 May 1945. What happened in that final week of the war? Who was leading Germany? Who was involved in negotiating peace with the Allies? None of this is well known, but Barry Turner's readable account fills in the gaps for those unfamiliar with the story.

Karl Doenitz, a military man rather than a politician, was named by Hitler as his successor – an indication of Hitler's limited options at this time. Doenitz was chief of the German Navy, and himself a skilled submariner. He had also avoided much of the criticism levelled at the German land forces, as the U-boats had appeared to present the greatest threat to the Allied war effort.

Having assumed the role of leader, Doenitz realised that he needed to bring the war to an end as soon as possible. Germany was in ruins, and the area that the German Army still controlled was small and being reduced in size daily. However, his first thought was for those Germans – both troops and refugees – who were stranded, waiting to cross the Baltic ahead of the Russian Army.

Doenitz launched the Operation Hannibal rescue mission in January 1945. Still, even in May 1945, the stream of refugees trying to move westwards was unabating, and Doenitz wanted more time, so that they would not be left at the mercy of the advancing Russians.

In this he was only partially successful. The Allies would not accept anything less than a total surrender on all fronts, but they did allow a two-day delay between the signing of the surrender and the ending of hostilities – a small window for the thousands still stranded in the East.

What of Doenitz? The British saw no reason to prosecute him. The Admiralty felt that the Kriegsmarine had fought a clean war. The Americans disagreed: Doenitz seemed tainted by his being Hitler's successor. On 22 May 1945, he was arrested, and later sentenced to ten years in Spandau Prison.

FRANCESCA TROWSE

WATERWAYS ON THE WESTERN FRONT: UNTOLD STORIES OF WORLD WAR I

Celia Halsey (ed.)

The London Canal Museum, £14.99 (hbk)

This limited edition book is the product of a revelatory exhibition held at the London Canal Museum earlier this year. It is aptly and concisely summed up by the subtitle – 'untold stories of World War I'. The fact that these particular stories have remained untold for so long is quite remarkable when the scale of the operation is comprehended. The editor and researchers are to be commended for their hard work.

It is a longstanding military axiom that an army without efficient logistic support cannot expect to prevail. Nowhere was this made more brutally clear than on the Western Front of 1914-1918. The largest armies ever fielded were engaged in a struggle that consumed ammunition, food, and other supplies on a hitherto unprecedented, and indeed unimagined, scale.

The supply chain for the British forces was considerably complicated by the Channel, which required transshipment of cargoes at both coasts, entailing delay and extra cost. The canals and rivers of France and Belgium were an important adjunct to rail and road transport, and it was soon realised that the larger Continental barges were capable of making the short Channel crossing in reasonable weather.

This led to the construction of a special barge-port at Richborough in Kent. From here, loaded barges could cross the Channel and proceed directly into the French and Belgian waterways, before making their way to forward depots. The returning vessels brought back materiel for recycling.

The scale of this traffic was such that the port was extended to provide construction and repair facilities for barges, workshops, and 50 miles of railway track. Highly secret at the time, the port was sold off after the war, leaving virtually no tangible evidence of this former hive of activity.

Canals and rivers provided more than a supply route: they could be defence lines, obstacles to be crossed in advances, and even sources of drinking water. They also offered what was probably the most comfortable form of casualty evacuation, with dedicated hospital barges.

All these aspects are covered in this profusely illustrated and original account. Although not a reference book as such, it is an invaluable guide, and a good starting-point for research on this overlooked subject.

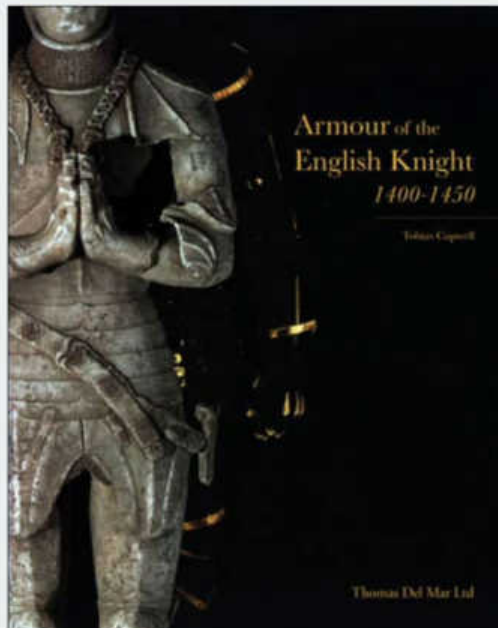
GUY TAYLOR



IN VIEW

MHM'S ROUND-UP OF THE BEST MILITARY HISTORY TITLES

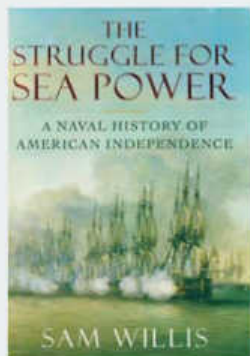
ILLUSTRATED BOOK



Armour of the English Knight Tobias Capwell

Thomas Del Mar Ltd, £54 (hbk)
ISBN 978-0993324604

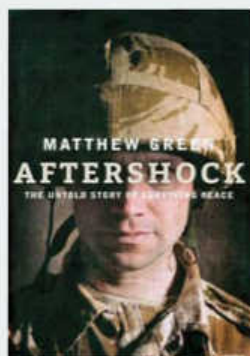
Capwell is such a master of his subject that he communicates his ideas and observations clearly and accessibly. He argues for a specifically English tradition in armour, observably different from the better-known European styles. Well illustrated and with sumptuous photographs, this book is a delight to read.



The Struggle for Sea Power: a naval history of American independence Sam Willis

Atlantic Books, £30 (hbk)
ISBN 978-1848878464

How did 13 isolated colonies, which began a war against Britain in 1775 without a navy or an army, win their independence from the greatest naval and military power on earth? The American Revolution involved 22 navies fighting on five oceans. This book examines the influence of sea power on history, how America gained independence, and the rise and fall of the British Empire.



Aftershock: the untold story of surviving peace Matthew Green

Portobello Books, £20 (hbk)
ISBN 978-1846273292

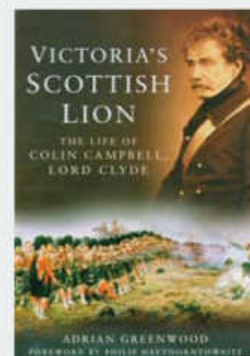
An investigation of what it means to lose friends, kill enemies, and live under fire. Many struggle to cope, and, with the stigma attached to mental illness, are scared to ask for help. Often using alcohol to self-medicate, they spiral down into despair, violence, and even suicide. Green has interviewed former combatants and serving personnel to give a wide-ranging view of the struggles faced by those who survive war.



The Real X-Men: the heroic story of the underwater war, 1942-1945 Robert Lyman

Quercus, £20 (hbk)
ISBN 978-1784299934

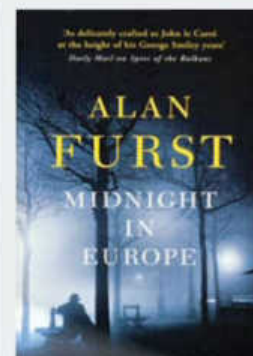
This book uses first-hand accounts to tell the story of the frogmen and divers who crewed the 'Chariots' and 'X-Craft' of WWII. They aimed to destroy enemy vessels with explosive charges – and hoped to return to their submarine unscathed. Many were teenagers, volunteering without knowing the extent of the risks involved, nor how slim the chances were of returning alive.



Victoria's Scottish Lion: the life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde Adrian Greenwood

Spellmount, £25 (hbk)
ISBN 978-0750956857

A timely biography of Colin Campbell, one of Queen Victoria's greatest generals and one of her favourites. Campbell was Britain's first working-class field marshal, renowned for his courage and beloved of his men. In his 50-year career, he fought through the Peninsular War and in the Crimea, China, and India, as well as dealing with such domestic crises as the Irish Tithe War (1831-1836).

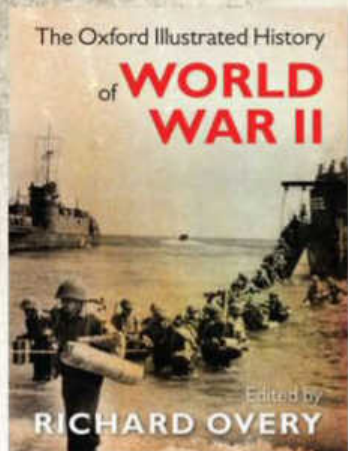


Midnight in Europe Alan Furst

Orion Books, £8.99 (pbk)
ISBN 978-0753829004

This novel is set in Paris in 1938, and revolves around Cristian Ferrar, a handsome Spanish lawyer. He is asked to help supply weapons to the Republicans in Spain, and so becomes entangled with gangsters and idealists, arms-dealers and aristocrats. The narrative includes a range of locations, from Paris nightclubs to the docks of Gdańsk. This thriller paints a portrait of Europe overshadowed by war.

MILITARY HISTORY FROM OXFORD

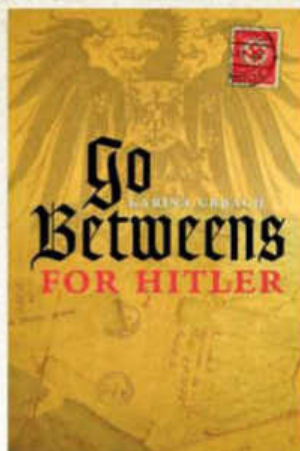


OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF WORLD WAR TWO

Richard Overy

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978-0-19-960582-8 | £30.00



GO-BETWEENS FOR HITLER

Karina Urbach

'Just when one thinks every possible aspect of this war has been covered, along comes a surprise... an unsurpassable work on this intriguing subject.' *Daily Telegraph*

978-0-19-870366-2 | £20.00

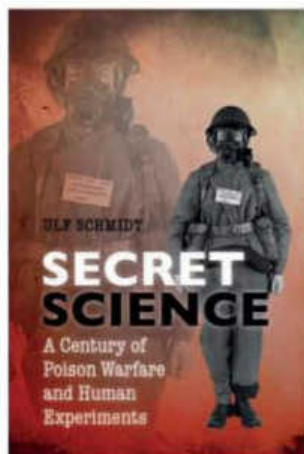


NEAR AND DISTANT NEIGHBOURS A New History of Soviet Intelligence

Jonathan Haslam

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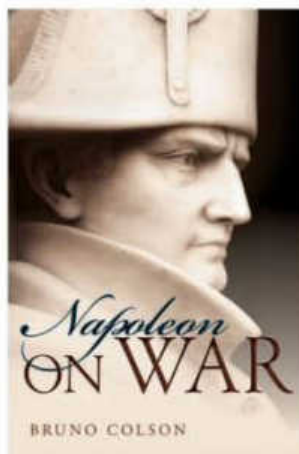


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MUSEUM

REVIEWING THE BEST MILITARY HISTORY EXHIBITIONS
WITH **GEORGE CLODE**



VISIT

GERMAN OCCUPATION MUSEUM

- Les Houards, Forest, Guernsey, Channel Islands GY8 OBG
- 01481 238205
- www.germanoccupationmuseum.co.uk
- April-October: open 10am-5pm daily
- November-March: open 10am-1pm Tuesday to Sunday

Located at Les Houards in Guernsey's Forest parish, the German Occupation Museum was opened by Richard Heaume in 1966. Heaume is a founding member of the Channel Islands Occupation Society, and set up the museum as a labour of love, having started to collect WWII memorabilia while still at school.

He has since amassed one of the finest collections of WWII relics in the Channel Islands, spread out over a number of themed rooms at this diverting museum.

The collection charts the five-year occupation of Guernsey by the Nazis between 1940 and 1945. On 19 June 1940, the Channel Islands were officially demilitarised by the British government, and arrangements made for inhabitants to evacuate.

GERMAN INVASION

At 8.30pm on 30 June, five German Junker troop carriers landed on

Guernsey. By the following afternoon, the German flag had been hoisted and the number of German troops equalled the number of remaining islanders.

German soldiers began to fortify Guernsey as part of Hitler's Atlantic Wall defence-system, building new roads and reinforced concrete bunkers, and modifying existing historic forts. The physical work was predominantly carried out by imported labour, using thousands of workers from the Soviet Union, under the supervision of the German forces.

LIVING IN OCCUPIED GUERNSEY

A curfew was enforced between the hours of 11pm and 5am, and ID cards had to be carried at all times. Failure to meet these strictures could result in arrest or execution. The sale of spirits was banned; later, radios were prohibited, and all residents born outside



02



03

the islands ordered to be deported to Germany.

At the start of the Occupation, Guernsey's food stocks were sufficient to sustain the reduced population. As the years wore on, the situation became more difficult, and people had to improvise.

One of the museum's detailed dioramas shows a Guernsey family who have just eaten their dinner of fried onions, as a loaf of bread bakes on the open fire. Any uneaten onions would have been kept and warmed for the next day's breakfast. The father of the family listens to the news on a banned radio, while the mother watches cautiously out of the window for passing Nazi patrols.

The improvised sustenance, frugal means, and paranoia of Occupied Guernsey are perfectly

encapsulated in this scene, one of a number of excellent dioramas at the museum.

On entering the museum, visitors are greeted with running videos of contemporary footage to provide an insight into life under Nazi rule, and various everyday items are dotted around, giving the place an eerily personal feel. These include a portrait of Hitler done by a German soldier in his spare time, an empty bottle of whisky drunk by a German soldier, regulation issue cutlery, monuments to dead German soldiers, and lots of German daggers.

SIGNALLING AT SEEKO-KI

Two further highlights include the extensive collection of communication and signals ephemera from the German Naval HQ, and the recently installed Occupation Street display.



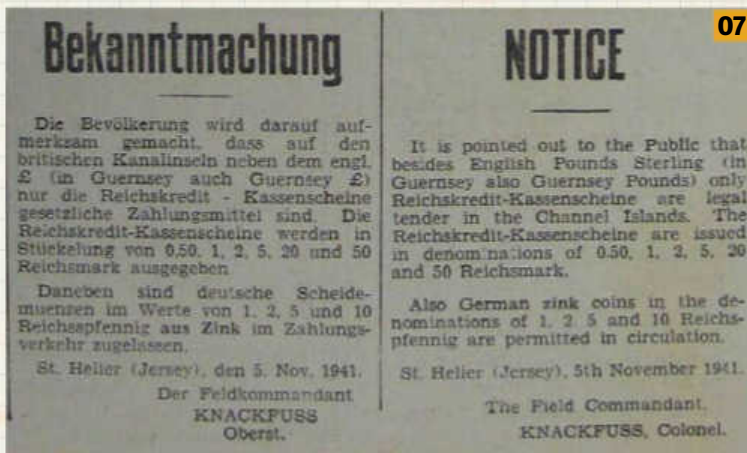
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06



07



GUERNSEY,
CHANNEL ISLANDS

MORE MUSEUMS IN GUERNSEY

CASTLE CORNET

St Peter Port

At Castle Cornet, which has guarded the capital's harbour for some 800 years, visitors can explore the battlements and enjoy views towards the other islands. On-site are five separate museums, four period gardens, the refectory, and the castle shop. The castle is open daily until 5pm, but is closed over the winter (September to March).

GERMAN NAVAL SIGNALS HQ

St Jacques

Visit the last operational Signals HQ, which was running up until 9 May 1945. The bunker is completely equipped with radio equipment, and it houses an Enigma machine, as well as everyday Nazi troop materiel. It is open from March to October.

LA VALETTE UNDERGROUND

MILITARY MUSEUM

St Peter Port

This is an award-winning museum covering several aspects of Guernsey's history. It focuses on Guernsey's military history including the island's militia, WWI, and the German Occupation (1940-1945). The museum is open 10am-5pm daily from 2 March to mid-November.

The Headquarters of the German Naval Commander Channel Islands (Seeko-Ki) were originally established in Guernsey at the La Collinette and La Porte hotels, in the summer of 1942. Radio communications were an integral part of operations at Seeko-Ki Headquarters. The powerful radio transmitters and receivers were first housed in the loft of La Collinette Hotel, before the decision was taken to build permanent bunkers in the hotel grounds.

Two of the Enigma machines used to send and receive coded messages were based at Seeko-Ki. The museum houses one such machine, along with a nicely printed instruction manual. Although it is not known for sure whether it was one of the machines based on the island, it matches the description and type of the two known to have been used in Guernsey.

A guided tour of the bunker that was once Seeko-Ki is offered. Although not part of the museum's displays, it is only 15 minutes away by car and makes a good post-museum activity, providing further background knowledge for anyone interested in the more specific aspects of the island's occupation history.

The museum's exhibits are clearly labelled and well laid-out within the rooms. This is not an interactive hands-on museum, and there are no immersive digital experiences or high-tech displays. You are far more likely to find a 'Do Not Touch' sign than a computer screen.

As such, this would not be an appropriate activity for very young children. Adults and children over the age of 10, however, could easily spend two hours or more, reading

the personal stories and taking in the exhibits.

The museum can be reached by bus on routes 11, 91, 92, or 93, getting off one stop before the airport when travelling from St Peter Port. From there, it is a short walk past the local church, along the well-signposted road. •

George Clode is the former Deputy Editor of Military History Monthly.

PICTURED ON BOTH PAGES:

1. Diorama showing family life under Nazi occupation.
2. A collection of vehicles and light artillery.
3. Diorama of Islanders waiting outside a butcher's shop to receive rations.
4. German uniform and assorted ephemera on display.
5. Nazi marching band in Guernsey.
6. The island is littered with German fortifications.
7. German notice from 1941, detailing legal tender in the Channel Islands.

LISTINGS

THE BEST MILITARY HISTORY EVENTS, LECTURES, AND EXHIBITIONS



Image: © Museum in the Park, Stroud

EXHIBITION

STROUD AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR – J T GARNER'S STORY

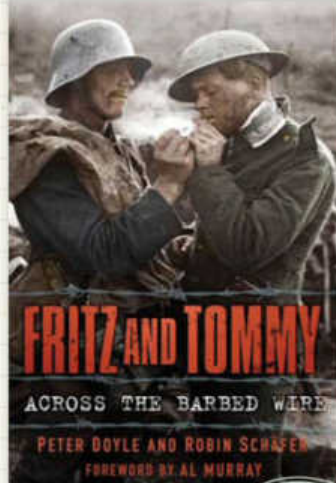
1-31 January 2016

● Museum in the Park, Stratford Park
Stroud, Gloucestershire, GL5 4AF

● www.museuminthepark.org.uk

The first in a series of mini-exhibitions documenting the wartime experiences of local people, this display will tell the story of Private John T Garner, a member of the Gloucestershire Regiment. Garner signed up to fight in WWI as part of a group from the Stroud Brewery. His story will be told through photographs and other personal memorabilia, as well as through stories from his family and from the brewery. Further First World War exhibitions will run throughout 2016, changing each month.

TALK



FRITZ AND TOMMY: ACROSS THE BARBED WIRE

£10
ENTRY

21 January 2016

● 36-39 Pall Mall
London, SW1Y 5JN
● www.nam.ac.uk

Eminent First World War historian and broadcaster Peter Doyle will examine letters from the boys on both sides of the conflict. While noting differences between British and German systems of education and censorship rules, he will highlight the significant similarities between the many groups of men who fought on the front-line.

Following Peter's talk, German military historian and co-author of *Fritz and Tommy* Robin Schäfer will join the audience for a Q&A session.

EXHIBITION

WAR-DAMAGED MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

21 November 2015-3 April 2016

● Tate Britain, Millbank, London, SW1P 4RG
● www.tate.org.uk

This sound-installation by Turner Prize-winning artist Susan Philipsz features recordings of British and German instruments that have been damaged by war. It includes the sounds of several instruments from the First World War, as

well as the Balaclava Bugle and the horn from the Battle of Waterloo. The artist has created an immersive and contemplative experience by devising a sequence of sounds based on the military bugle-call 'The Last Post'.

Please note that this exhibition is closed temporarily between 17 and 24 February 2016.

FREE
ENTRY



Image: Klappenhorn (ruin). Salvaged from the Alte Münz bunker, Berlin, 1945. Collection Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Berlin

EXHIBITION

100
Stories

EXPLORING SWINDON'S
WW1 PAST

100 STORIES: EXPLORING SWINDON'S WWI PAST

12-30 January 2016

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Cocklebury Road, Chippenham, SN15 3QN
www.100storiesww1.com

The culmination of 12 months of research and production work, the *100 Stories* exhibition curates the work of 60 young people from Swindon. The project was inspired by Mary Slade, who mobilised Swindon communities to collect items for comfort parcels that were sent to prisoners-of-war. The exhibition features a series of original films and photographs, produced in response to local sources for the history of the First World War, including the prisoners-of-war postcard collection held at Swindon Museum and Art Gallery, and the local archives held at Swindon's Central Library.

FREE
ENTRY

STUDY DAY


£32
ENTRY

**HOW NOT TO GET KILLED
WITH THE ROYAL ARMOURIES**

23 January 2016

Tower of London, London, EC3N 4AB
www.hrp.org.uk

The Royal Armouries' collection contains curiosities, arms, and armour from antiquity to the modern day. Held at the Tower of London, this event will reveal secrets from their collection in an exploration of how past generations sought to fend off a variety of risks to life. Bridget Clifford, Head of Collections at the Royal Armouries, and Jonathan Ferguson, Firearms Curator, will give talks. Object-handling sessions will provide exclusive access to artefacts, including an early 17th-century combination axe-pistol. The entry fee includes tea and coffee, and tickets may be booked in advance.

EXHIBITION


FREE
ENTRY

THE CARIBBEAN'S GREAT WAR

6 November 2015-2 May 2016

Museum of London Docklands, West India Quay
Canary Wharf, London, E14 4AL
www.museumoflondon.org.uk/docklands

Thousands of young men from throughout the Caribbean volunteered to join the British West Indies Regiment in the First World War. Housed within the 'London, Sugar, and Slavery' gallery, this display showcases a variety of items, including recruitment posters, photographs of the BWIR, commemorative stamps, and war honours awarded to the soldiers, many of whom served on the Western Front in labour battalions, as well as in front-line roles in Africa and the Middle East.

**DATES TO
REMEMBER**
13 JANUARY 2016
**Men in Reserve?
Reserved occupations
in Second World
War Britain**

The Institute of Historical
Research, Senate House, Malet
Street, London, WC1E 7HU
www.history.ac.uk

Dr Juliette Pattinson and Dr Linsey Robb explore the experiences of over five million men who were in reserved occupations in Britain during the Second World War. Their research is based on an extensive oral-history project, and their findings are the subject of a new book on the topic, to be published in 2016.

13 JANUARY 2016
**The Last Surrender
of the American Civil
War in Liverpool**

Grosvenor Museum, 27 Grosvenor
Street, Chester, CH1 2DD
www.westcheshiremuseums.co.uk

The last Confederate surrender of the American Civil War took place in Liverpool on 6 November 1865, when the Confederate warship CSS *Shenandoah* surrendered in the Mersey. In his afternoon talk, Leonard Ellison looks at this little-known chapter of Liverpool history.

24 JANUARY 2016
**Holocaust
Memorial Day**

D-Day Museum and Overlord
Embroidery, Clarence
Esplanade, Southsea, PO5 3NT
www.ddaymuseum.co.uk

Holocaust Memorial Day (27 January) is held on the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz concentration camp by the Soviet Union in 1945. The D-Day Museum is running a memorial event on the Sunday before Holocaust Memorial Day and, to mark the event, entrance fees to the museum will be waived.

LECTURE

**THE HISTORY OF THE
FIVE ARK ROYALS**

11 January 2016

HQS Wellington, Temple Stairs, Victoria
Embankment, London, WC2R 2PN
www.thewellingtontrust.com
£5
ENTRY


This lecture will trace the history of the five Royal Navy ships that have borne the name HMS *Ark Royal*. The first *Ark Royal* was the flagship of the English fleet that defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588. The second served in the Gallipoli campaign. The third *Ark Royal*

participated in WWII, and was sunk by a U-boat. The evening will cover over 400 years of naval history, and will be led by Rear Admiral David Snelson, who served on the fourth and fifth *Ark Royals*. An optional supper will follow the lecture, priced at £27 for friends of the Wellington Trust and £32 for non-members. Booking required.



CHRISTMAS GIFTS GUIDE

A PROMOTION OF THE LATEST MILITARY HISTORY GIFTS
AVAILABLE TO BUY THIS FESTIVE SEASON.

BRITISH COUNTERINSURGENCY (2ND ED.)

John Newsinger

For many years, the British Army was considered to have a particular expertise at counterinsurgency campaigning. John Newsinger's British Counterinsurgency challenges this view.

The book examines the post-1945 campaigns in Palestine, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, South Yemen, Dhofar, Northern Ireland, and, most recently, in Iraq and Afghanistan. It looks at the opponents the British faced, the methods that were used against them, the successes and the failures, and the reasons for these outcomes.

It contests the British claim to have used minimum force in order to win hearts and minds, showing that as much force was used as was thought appropriate, that torture was widely used, and that coercion was always more important than consent.

The book ends with an assessment of the disastrous campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan, with particular focus on the damage done to the British Army's reputation and credibility.



PUBLISHER: Palgrave Macmillan

PRICE: £18.99

WHERE TO BUY: www.palgrave.com

PEGASUS TO PARADISE

Michael Tappenden

The true WWII story of the epic struggle of a 6th Airborne hero both in war and peace.

Share with him the elation of the daring raid at Pegasus Bridge on D-Day 1944, the terror of the bloody Rhine Crossing, the relief of sharing vodka with advancing Russians on the Baltic, and his joyous return home to his wife and family – a joy that slowly turned into a daily struggle.

This is the universal dilemma of men damaged by the horrors of war, struggling to come to terms with the normality of peace whilst protecting their loved ones as best they know how. All the while, they are quietly and stoically combating their own nightmares.

Read this story of ordinary people thrown into extraordinary times, discovering depths of courage, duty, and loyalty as they deal, humorously and determinedly, with both war and the new social fabric of post-war Britain.

See numerous five star reviews at www.amazon.co.uk



PUBLISHER: Acorn Independent Press

PRICE: Paperback £8.99 Kindle £2.99

WHERE TO BUY: www.amazon.co.uk and all good book shops

UNDER FIRE: ESSEX AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1939-1945

Paul Rusiecki

Under Fire is a meticulous study of the impact of total war on the civilian population of Essex between 1939 and 1945.

Paul Rusiecki examines how people coped with the immense stress caused by heavy bombing, the fear of invasion, and other anxieties whilst so much was demanded of them by the authorities.

He recounts the hostility faced by conscientious objectors, as well as the undercurrents of political disaffection circulating by 1942, which

produced a sensational by-election result at Maldon.

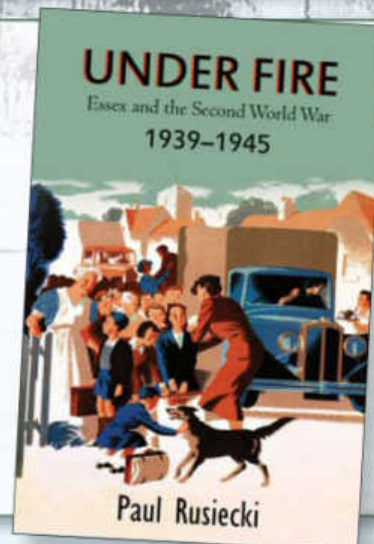
The murkier aspects of the war in Essex – crime and a supposed crisis in morality – are also dealt with in depth.

Above all, this is the story of how the people of Essex survived the most extraordinary challenges they had ever faced, ultimately emerging with a sense of having earned the right to eradicate the gross inequalities that had marred society for so long.

PUBLISHER: University of Hertfordshire Press

PRICE: £18.99

WHERE TO BUY: All good bookshops and online retailers





SIT IN A SPITFIRE EXPERIENCE - BIGGIN HILL

IntoTheBlue

Here's your chance to sit in the cockpit of a Mk9 Spitfire at London's historic Biggin Hill airport – famous for its role in the Battle of Britain.

Not only will you get to experience this fully-functioning iconic aircraft first hand, you will also get access to the rest of the hangar, where public access is usually restricted. This gives you the opportunity to see the ongoing Spitfire restoration projects up close and ask your guide – either a local historian or an employee of the hangar – any questions you may have about the aircraft.

Perfect for any aviation history enthusiast!

PRICE: £69.00

WHERE TO BUY: www.intotheblue.co.uk/flying-experiences/ww2-planes/spitfire-flights/spitfire-biggin-hill/

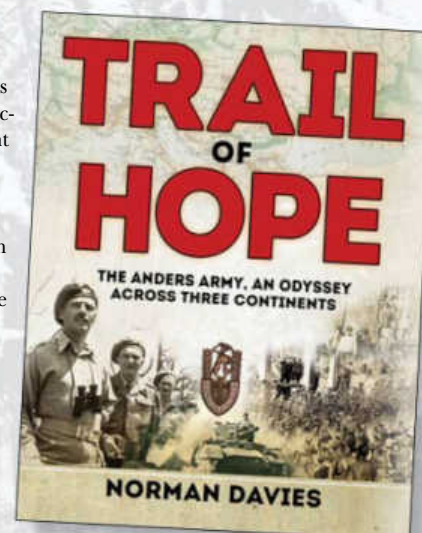
EMAIL: sales@intotheblue.co.uk

PHONE: 01959 578 100

TRAIL OF HOPE: THE ANDERS ARMY, AN ODYSSEY ACROSS THREE CONTINENTS

Norman Davies

In this remarkable work, renowned historian Professor Norman Davies draws from years of meticulous research to recount the compelling story of the Polish II Corps or 'Anders Army', and their exceptional journey from the Gulags of Siberia, through Iran, the Middle East, and North Africa, to the battlefields of Italy to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with Allied forces.



PUBLISHER: Osprey Publishing

PRICE: £30.00

WHERE TO BUY: www.ospreypublishing.com

WARRIORS: FIGHTING MEN AND THEIR UNIFORMS

Martin Windrow

Throughout history, the world's finest warriors have been defined by the equipment they use and the uniforms they wear. This splendid collection of artwork illustrates famous combatants from the ancient world to the present day, revealing how echoes of tradition and the latest developments in warfare have often combined to influence military costume.

From the gleaming plate armour of the medieval knight to the sleek camouflage gear of

modern special ops forces; from the distinctive attire of the Japanese samurai to the ballistic armour and modern electronics of Russia's elite Spetsnaz – this is the premier guide to the appearance of history's greatest warriors.

PUBLISHER: Osprey Publishing

PRICE: £9.99

WHERE TO BUY: www.ospreypublishing.com



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PRICE: 1. £39.99, 2. £29.99

WHERE TO BUY: Harrods or Hamleys

CONTACT DETAILS: For a list of all W Britain stockists please visit www.bachmann.co.uk/ukstock.php



EASY COMPANY 506TH PARACHUTE INFANTRY REGIMENT - IN PHOTOGRAPHS

by The Men of Easy Company



The 'Band of Brothers' who comprised Easy Company (immortalised in Stephen Ambrose's bestselling book and the celebrated mini-series co-produced by Steven Spielberg and Tom Hanks) will forever be remembered for their audacious acts of bravery throughout the Second World War.

For the first time, through an archive of over 400 rare photographs and items of memorabilia – including maps, rosters and diary extracts – together with a 20,000-word original text from surviving company veterans, Genesis Publications presents the history of Easy Company, 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne, in an unparalleled, signed, limited edition book.

It features a foreword by Tom Hanks and afterwords by Steven Spielberg and James Madio. Each copy is signed by Damian Lewis and at least seven veterans, including: Bill Guarnere, Bill Maynard, Bill Wingett, Buck Compton, Buck Taylor, Clancy Lyall, Don Bond, Don Malarkey, Earl McClung, Ed Joint, Ed Shames, Ed Tipper, and Forrest Guth.

PUBLISHER: Genesis Publications Ltd

PRICE: £245

WHERE TO BUY: www.BandofBrothersBook.com

TANKS A LOT

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At Tanks A Lot we have over 20 years of experience in creating unforgettable memories. With over 130 vehicles on 100 acres of 'playground', our Full Monty Day is designed to challenge and exhilarate drivers and spectators alike.

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“We went to the cemetery and the first grave was one of our soldiers. It broke me up.”

Ernie Prior
Resident of The Royal Star & Garter Homes

Monte Cassino was one of the Second World War's toughest and bloodiest battles in Western Europe. When ex-trooper Ernie Prior returned there to visit the Allied cemetery, the first grave he came across was a soldier from his regiment. The memories are still vivid in his mind all these years later.

Today, Ernie needs specialist nursing and therapeutic care so that he can remain independent and enjoy life. As a charity, The Royal Star & Garter Homes can only continue to care for Ernie with your help.

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

ON SALE 14 JANUARY

FORT FISHER: BOBBIE LEE'S LIFELINE

Wilmington was the Confederacy's premier blockade-running port. Guarding the approaches was Fort Fisher, 'the Gibraltar of the South'. The battle to take it was a massive Union operation in January 1865. Our special next month focuses on Fort Fisher and the blockade-runners of the American Civil War.

ALSO NEXT ISSUE:

- Sam Willis on the American War of Independence at sea
- Toby Capwell on arms and armour in Henry V's England
- David Saunders on a model evacuation at Gallipoli

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The Desert Rats' Cromwell

A vehicle made famous by the British 7th Armoured Division, who had been dubbed the Desert Rats for their exploits in North Africa. However, the 7th Armoured were not issued with Cromwells until 1944, when they returned to the U.K. to prepare for D-Day. They fought in their Cromwells across France and into Germany, and eventually took part in the Victory Parade on September 7, 1945, in Berlin.

Development for the Cromwell first began in 1940 when the General Staff knew the Crusader would soon become obsolete. The tank was the fastest British tank to serve in the war, with a top speed of 40 mph (64 km/h). Its dual purpose 75 mm main gun had HE and armour-piercing capabilities and its armour ranged from 8 mm up to 76 mm overall.

In World of Tanks, you can command the Cromwell from the driver's seat. World of Tanks is an online PC game dedicated to tank warfare in the mid-20th century, with over 300 of history's most iconic tanks.

A variety of tiers, upgrades, equipment, and decals allow you to make each tank, your progression and your gameplay experience unique.

Play For Free at Worldoftanks.eu



COMPETITIONS

PUT YOUR MILITARY HISTORY KNOWLEDGE TO THE TEST WITH THE *MHM* QUIZ, CROSSWORD, AND CAPTION COMPETITION

MHM QUIZ

This month we have two sets of the *Great Battles* series to give away.

Certain battles acquire iconic status in history. Those who win have been celebrated as heroes, and their triumphs used to establish the founding myths of nations. It is for these reasons that battles' legacies have outlived their direct political consequences.

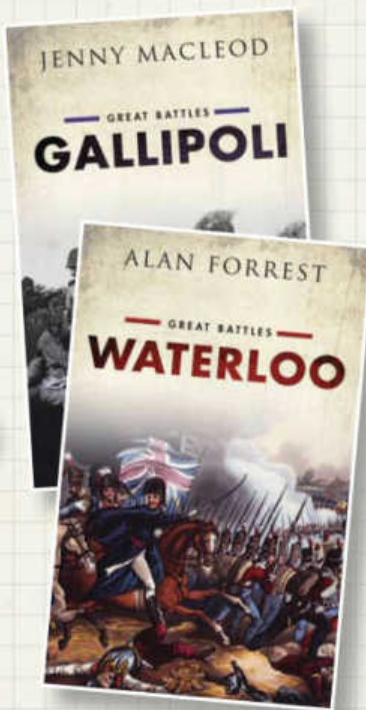
Commemorated in paintings, verse, and music; marked by monumental memorials; and used as the waypoints

for the periodisation of history, these battles have also enjoyed cultural afterlives. The *Great Battles* series, launched this year, examines the battles themselves, as well as their legacy in the imaginations of victors and vanquished.

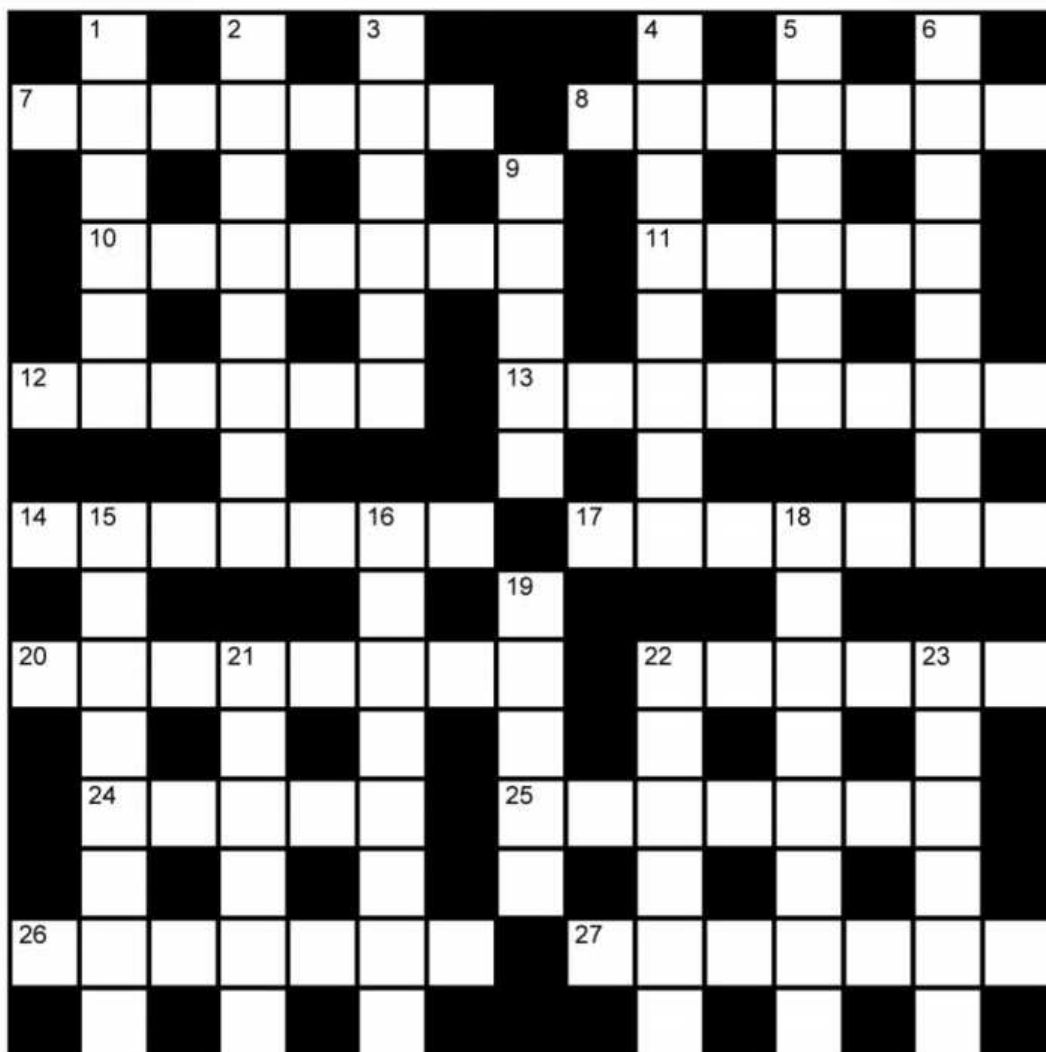
Historians of war must never forget that, however rich and splendid their cultural legacies, great battles were

won and lost by fighting, by killing and being killed. As Wellington wrote to Lady Shelley in the immediate aftermath of Waterloo: 'I hope to God I have fought my last battle... Next to a battle lost, the greatest misery is a battle gained.'

Series-editor Hew Strachan has assembled expert authors for each book in the series, which has, so far,



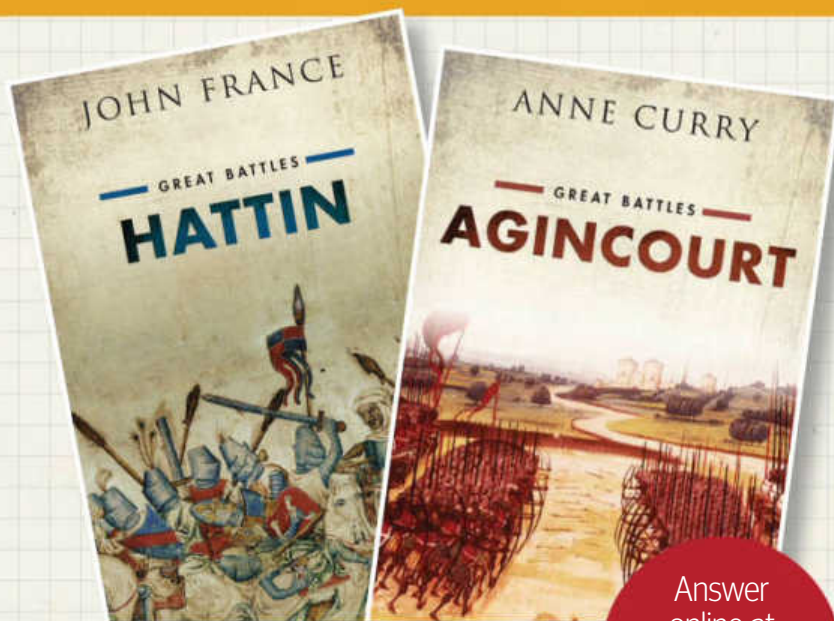
covered such diverse battles as Agincourt, Gallipoli, Hattin, and Waterloo. More titles are planned.



MHM CROSSWORD No 64

ACROSS

- 7** British heavy bomber of World War II (7)
- 8** Saint ____-le-Grand, First World War battle fought in July 1918 (7)
- 10** Ancient galley with three banks of oars (7)
- 11** Battle fought in 1521 during the Swedish War of Liberation (5)
- 12** Term formerly used for infantrymen of the British Indian Army (6)
- 13** Region ceded to Greece in 1881 by the Convention of Constantinople (8)
- 14** City captured by the Mongols in 1258 (7)
- 17** Clarence ____, US general, commander of the 26th Division in World War I (7)
- 20** Polish city gained by Sweden during the Thirty Years War (8)



Answer
online at
www.military-history.org

To be in with a chance of winning,
simply answer the following question:

- ? After Saladin seized Jerusalem in 1187,
when was it recaptured by Western crusaders?

A DECEMBER ISSUE | MHM 63

ANSWERS

ACROSS: 8 Berezina, 9 Ashdod, 10 Mauser, 11 Nieupoort, 12 Dauntless, 13 Kenya, 15 Templar, 17 Jamaica, 20 Ultra, 22 Manhattan, 25 Ethiopia, 26 Rwanda, 27 Menace, 28 Tantalus.

DOWN: 1 Delaware, 2 Nelson, 3 Gibraltar, 4 Harness, 5 Baker, 6 Chippewa, 7 Rob Roy, 14 Catherine, 16 Percival, 18 Claudius, 19 Jakarta, 21 Lutzen, 23 Trajan, 24 Speer.

22 Anti-aircraft gunfire (3-3)

24 ____ Sea, World War II naval battle fought in 1942 (5)

25 See 9 Down

26 Area of France where the Battle of Castillon took place in 1453 (7)

27 African empire which fought the British several times in the 19th century (7)

DOWN

1 British bomber of World War II built by Fairey (6)

2 Member of a Germanic people who sacked Rome in 410 AD (8)

3 Blue ____, battle fought between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Golden Horde (6)

4 ____ Scott, commander of the US Army from 1841 to 1861 (8)

5 Surname of engineer who invented the bouncing bomb (6)

6 Early warship protected by metal plates (8)

9/25A Motto of the Royal Lancers (5,2,5)

15 Occasion of national remembrance for Australia and New Zealand (5,3)

16 Royal Navy Egret-class sloop, launched in 1938 (8)

18 Charles Howard's flagship during the attack of the Spanish Armada (3,5)

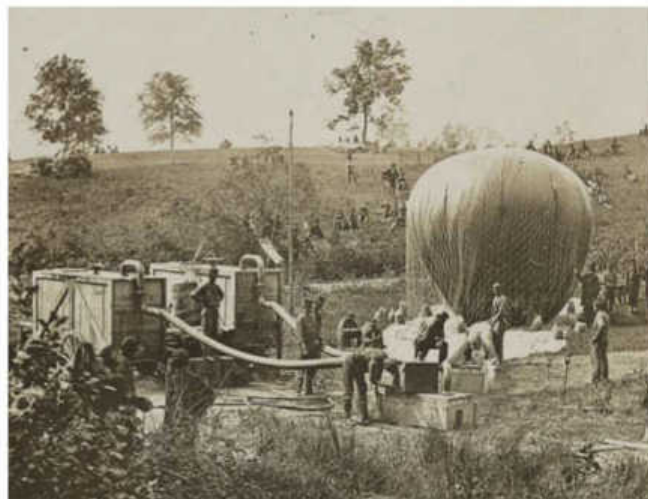
19 British admiral, victor at the First Battle of Cape Finisterre in 1747 (5)

21 Swiss city bombed accidentally by the US in 1945 (6)

22 Military transport aircraft built by Armstrong Whitworth (6)

23 Tactical support vehicle of the British Army (6)

MHM CAPTION COMPETITION



We continue our caption competition with an image from this month's 'Behind the Image'. Pit your wits against other readers at www.military-history.org/competitions

LAST MONTH'S WINNER



WINNER:

Now don't get me wrong. Some of these photos are really good. But next time I tell you to shoot the enemy, I insist you use your rifles!

Joe Agius

RUNNERS-UP

I'll be frank with you, lads. The enemy is winning and has brought us down on our knees. Now, do you get the picture?

Dylan

Oh no, not his holiday snaps again!

Michael Dinneen

Think you can do better?

Go head-to-head with other MHM readers for the chance to see your caption printed in the next issue. Enter now at www.military-history.org/competitions

ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT...

Leon Trotsky

WHO? THE ONE NEXT TO LENIN?

Well, he was. Until Joseph Stalin had him erased from the photograph (below). But, despite Stalin's questionable Photoshopping, Leon Trotsky did exist.

He was a leading Russian military commander, revolutionary, and socialist thinker, who helped bring about Bolshevik success in Russia's October Revolution in 1917.

On Lenin's death, Trotsky was poised to assume leadership of the Communist Party. But he was outmanoeuvred by Stalin in a struggle for ultimate authority, finally meeting his end in Mexico, at the hands of a Soviet assassin wielding an ice-pick.

CHILLING. HE WAS PRETTY BOLSHIE, THEN?

Trotsky readily admitted to being a controversial figure. In his memoirs, he wrote, 'It is no wonder that my military work created so many enemies for me. I did not look to the side, I elbowed away those who interfered with military success, or, in the haste of the work, trod on the toes of the unheeding and was too busy even to apologise.'

CHARMING...

In fact, he was. Trotsky delivered innumerable rousing speeches promoting socialism. Even Stalin himself acknowledged Trotsky's skill in coordinating the October Revolution, in which Bolshevik forces overthrew the Provisional Government established after the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II.

Praising Trotsky in *The October Revolution* (1934), Stalin wrote, 'It can be stated with certainty that the Party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the rapid going over of the garrison to the side of the Soviet and the efficient manner in which the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee was organised.'

Cunningly, Stalin made sure this comment was omitted from his *Works* (1949).

BELOW Lenin speaking to Russian soldiers in Moscow, 1920. Trotsky is standing to his left, beside the podium. Stalin had Trotsky expelled from the Communist Party for his rejection of Stalinism, and had him erased from this photo, among others.



Leon Trotsky FACT FILE

Born: 7 November 1879

Nationality: Russian

Occupation(s): political theorist, journalist, revolutionary, President of the Petrograd Soviet (1917), Commissar of Foreign Affairs (1917-1918), Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs (1918-1925)

Key qualities: intellect, leadership, public speaking

Greatest achievement: coordinating the overthrow of the Provisional Government during the October Revolution in 1917

Died: 21 August 1940

CONFIDENTIAL

SO WHAT ELSE DID STALIN TRY TO HIDE?

In the wake of the revolution, Trotsky founded the Red Army. He instituted conscription, established military intelligence units, and capitalised on the experience of former Tsarist officers by instituting political commissars to ensure loyalty. Opposition to the Red Army from within its own ranks was often violently suppressed.

But Trotsky directed his troops to success in the Russian Civil War. He grew the army from 800,000 to 3,000,000, and saw it fight simultaneously on 16 fronts.

In October 1919, as the White Army approached Petrograd, Trotsky worked hard to raise the spirits of his increasingly demoralised soldiers, managing to fend off White forces by early November, for which he was awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

Compared with Lenin and Stalin, however, Trotsky's name is often forgotten.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Rather a lot, it turns out. Trotsky was born Lev Davidovich Bronstein, but changed his name after a run-in with the Imperial Russian authorities in the late 1900s. After moving to Nikolayev to study mathematics in 1896, Trotsky began promoting socialism among his peers, and helped organise the South Russian Workers' Union.

He was arrested in 1898 and, after a two-year imprisonment, was exiled to Siberia. Escaping in 1902, he adopted the name 'Trotsky', which he said he inscribed in a fake passport 'at random', unaware that it would become the name by which he would be known for the rest of his life.

THE 2016 TOUR PROGRAMME

MARCH

The Battle of Verdun 1916
In beautiful Meuse Valley for the centenary
18 - 21 March with Dr Bruce Cherry

APRIL

The Holocaust
Our annual pilgrimage and cultural tours
12 - 19 April with Prof Tom Lawson
& 6 - 13 September with Prof Tim Cole

Walking the Somme 1916
The countryside from the soldiers' perspective
15 - 18 April with Simon Jones

Nelson, Moore & Napoleon
*Learning their trade in Corsica
& the South of France*
24 April - 3 May with Alan Rooney

MAY

The Eastern Front
Moscow, Stalingrad & Kursk
5 - 14 May with Col Bob Kershaw

The Retreat to Corunna
Moore's tragic last campaign in Northern Spain
18 - 24 May with Col Nick Lipscombe

Wellington in Portugal

Battles of Rolica, Vimiero, Oporto & Bussaco
24 - 31 May with Col Nick Lipscombe

JUNE

Sharpe's Peninsula
The true story of the legendary Light Division
1 - 8 June with Maj-Gen Ashley Truluck

Classic Waterloo Anniversary Tour
Battles of Quatre Bras, Ligny & Waterloo
17 - 20 June with Maj-Gen Ashley Truluck

Custer & The Indian Wars
Including the anniversary of Little Big Horn
18 - 28 Jun with Col Bob Kershaw

Walking Gettysburg

Anniversary Weekend - book early!
27 June - 5 July with US historian Fred Hawthorne

LAST FEW PLACES

The First Day of the Somme 1916
The battle and centenary commemorations
30 June - 3 July with Dr Bruce Cherry

JULY

The Austro-Prussian War
*Prussian army in picturesque
Czech countryside*
2 - 9 July with Gen John Drewienkiewicz

Hadrian & the Roman Army
Dramatic Roman sites along Hadrian's Wall
8 - 11 July with Dr Adrian Goldsworthy

Marlborough - The First Churchill
*An introduction to his campaigns
& Blenheim 1704*
17 - 20 July with Dr John Sadler

AUGUST

The Classic Western Front Tour
Mons, Ypres, Somme, Cambrai, Victory Route
3 - 10 August with Dr Bruce Cherry

Belarus
Napoleon and Hitler's battles on shared ground
14 - 21 August with Alan Rooney & Bob Kershaw

SEPTEMBER

Northern Italy
Italy vs Austria in spectacular Alpine scenery
1 - 6 September with Maj Gordon Corrigan

The Gallipoli Campaign
Our classic tour in a beautiful Turkish setting
6 - 12 September with Patrick Mercer

Wellington in Spain
*Talavera, Fuentes, Albuera,
Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz*
14 - 21 September with Col Nick Lipscombe

BOOK TOGETHER

Wellington in the Pyrenees
*Vitoria, San Sebastian & stunning
Pyrenees battlefields*
21 - 29 September with Col Nick Lipscombe

The Spanish Civil War

*Tour set in beautiful Madrid, Toledo
& El Escorial*
28 September - 1 October with Ray Wilkinson

Walking Waterloo
A gentle ramble in the Belgian countryside
30 September - 3 October
with Alan Rooney & Maj-Gen Ashley Truluck

OCTOBER

The American Civil War - Eastern Theater
Virginia, Shenandoah Valley & Gettysburg
1 - 13 October with US historian Fred Hawthorne

Napoleon in Germany 1813
From Jena to Leipzig
9 - 16 October with John Lee

William the Conqueror
*Picturesque Normandy
& the 950th Anniversary of Hastings*
10 - 17 October with Dr John Sadler

The Battle for Crete
Airborne landings in Mediterranean setting
16 - 23 October with Col Bob Kershaw

Fortress Malta
*Valetta & island, from Knights of St John
to WWII*
29 October - 3 November with Gen Ashley Truluck

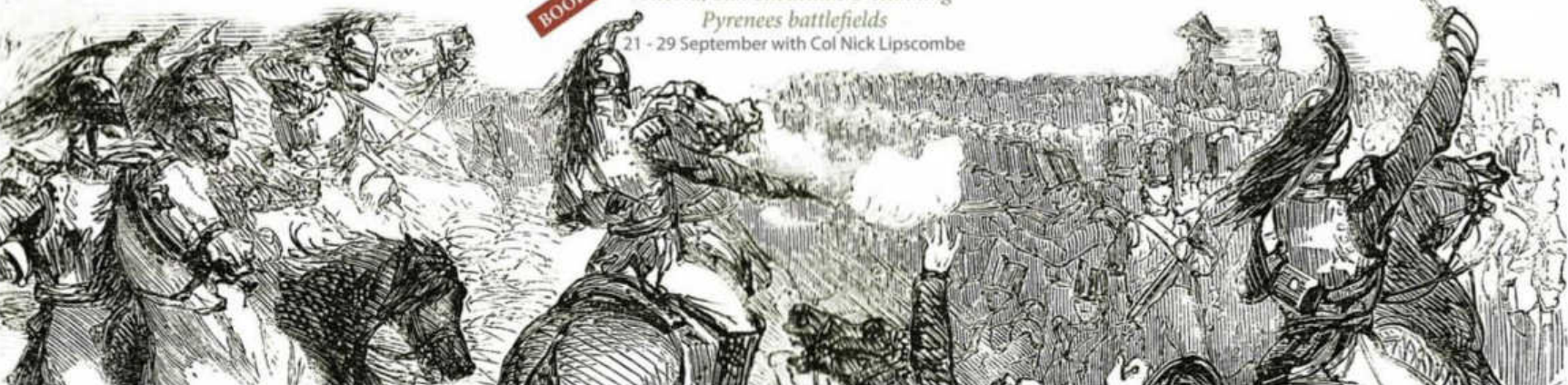
NOVEMBER

The Last Days of the Somme 1916
The battle and final commemorations
16 - 19 November with Dr Bruce Cherry

Wellington in India
Magnificent battles, scenery & accommodation
16-25 November with Maj Gordon Corrigan

2017 PREVIEW

Burma, Lawrence of Arabia
American Civil War: The Southern Heartland
The Zulu Wars & The Battle of Arras

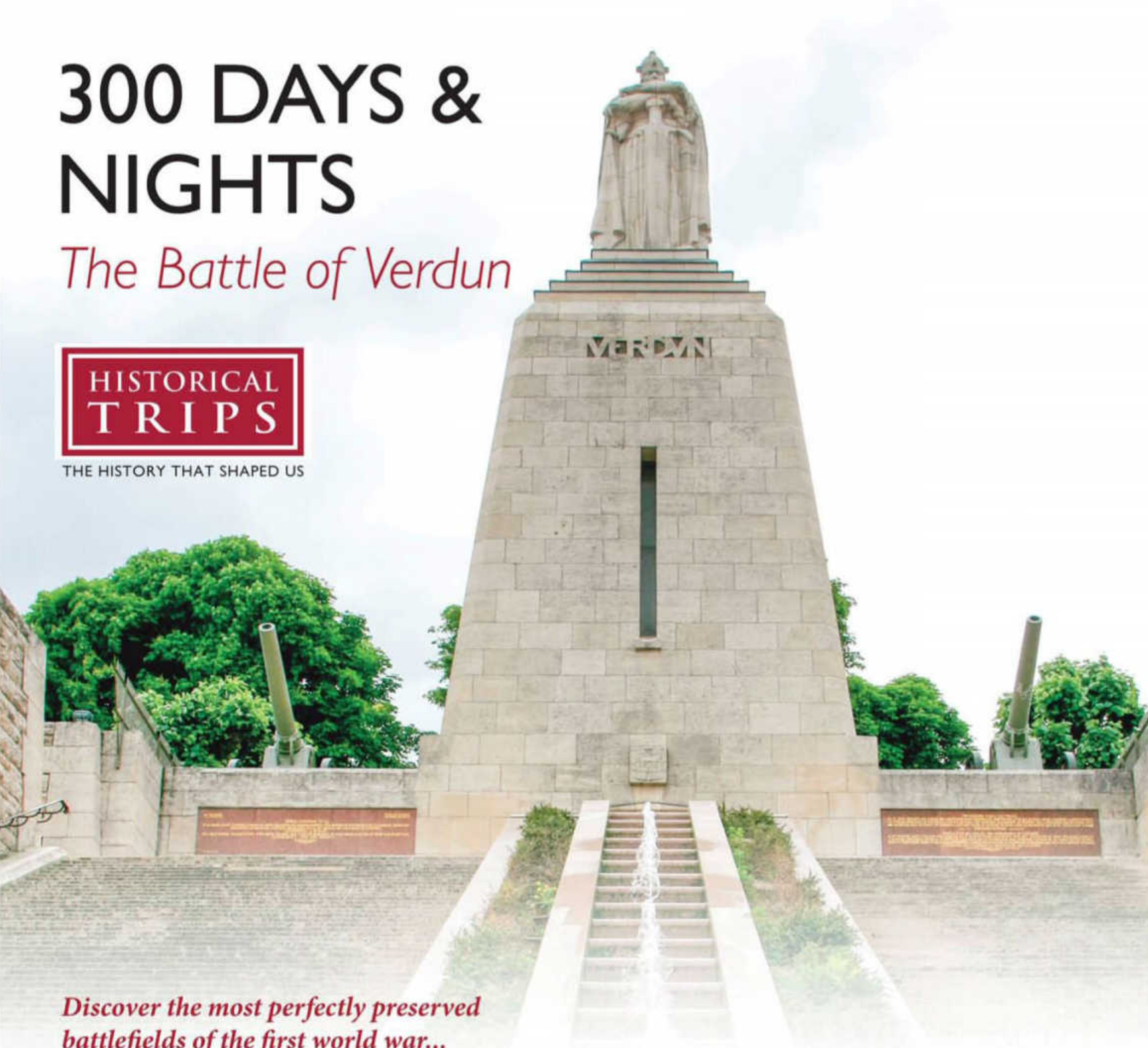


300 DAYS & NIGHTS

The Battle of Verdun



THE HISTORY THAT SHAPED US



Discover the most perfectly preserved battlefields of the first world war...

- Visit the eerily preserved battlefields of Verdun in this centenary tour.
- Explore the spectacular forts of Douaumont and Fort de Vaux as well as the city of Verdun itself.
- Guided by Nigel Jones, author of 'The War Walk' and expert on the Verdun battle.

“Within our reach there are objectives for the retention of which the French General Staff would be compelled to throw in every man they have. If they do, the forces of France will bleed to death.”

ERICH VON FALKENHAYN
Chief of German General Staff

On 21st February 1916, the earth of northern France began to shake. 100,000 German shells showered down on French lines every hour for 10 hours - trenches were destroyed and communication wires severed. As soon as the barrage lifted, Germany's troops moved forward. The Battle of Verdun had begun.

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